Anne ures

ANNEXURE 1: TESTIMONIES / KHANABAL CAMP

Structures of Violence: Testimonies

1. Ghulam Nabi Sumji, Muslim Conference leader, resident of Bijbehara, Islamabad district

It did not take us much time to find out that the MM was with army. Within 5-8 months everything was exposed. The question you would ask is how? Naba Azad was first with HM and then MM and he joined Ahsan Dar. At the Muslim Conference office he came a few times and he had security of the police. I saw this myself. We then realized that he was not straight. He tried to give defences and saying he needed it for security. But, the Professor [Abdul Gani Bhat] continued associating with him. I personally never had any connection with regard to money and whether it was given to the MM or not. But, one must know that there is no great control over Mujahideen. They listen to people who send the money. But, Professor had some influence on them.

Naba Azad used to tell us in the office that he had some protection of the army but he had no links to them. Professor found about the MM and the army. But he had a weakness. He was a scared man. By balancing and balancing he got caught by the army.

After Ahsan Dar's arrest, Naba Azad continued to come to the office. Professor's relationship with Naba Azad was on money only.

About the meeting of MM commanders in Chaksari with the Professor in 1994, I do not know about this meeting. But I will not doubt that Professor was with the army. Actually, I did hear about this meeting those days. But, I was not in that meeting. There was a connection between Professor and the army. In 1995/1996 intelligence officers of army and the army officers were coming to the Muslim Conference office. I was always against these meetings. I felt they would not be fruitful. I used to tell him then itself. But he used to say it was just to balance things. I don't know how many meetings he did like this. I never actually stayed in Wazir Bagh office of Muslim Conference except for a few times. He used to meet alone with army etc. Others would not want to go into those meetings anyway.

My reason for separation from Prof. Abdul Gani Bhat's faction of Muslim Conference was also that the interactions of the Professor were going up with the army. But he used to say nothing will happen with this. He was also friends with Chief Secretary Sheikh Ghulam Rasool. Professor used to go and meet him. Once even I went there with him. This was in 1993. The army started coming after the Hazratbal siege – maybe a year later. But who knows maybe they came before as well. Once I was leaving for home at 6 pm from the office. Suddenly there was huge security. Then an army officer in civil dress appeared. This was maybe 1995.

Rashid Din Painter and Bashir Ahmad Shikari were workers of Muslim Conference and they were killed. HM killed them. They wanted to kill me as well but I escaped. Professor Gani went to the then Amir Jamaat [Ghulam Mohammad Bhat] and helped to get me out. He also called Sardar Abdul Qayoom [prominent Muslim Conference leader in Pakistani administered Kashmir]. We were accused of being with MM. But I was already against MM. The Muslim Conference workers were not supporting MM. Painter was a labourer from Islamabad town.

Regarding Athar [the then commander of MM in Pattan area], I can say he is a nice man. I think he worked with the army and that's why he may have been fired at later. But he told me he didn't work for army. Hayat Khan [another MM commander of Pattan area, who was later killed] was actually under Athar and Athar was the North Zone Commander.

2. Professor Abdul Gani Bhat, President, Muslim Conference, Executive Member of All Parties Hurriyat Conference [APHC (M)].

The issue of MM has to be considered in a perspective. Ahsan Dar headed HM. Salahuddin replaced him. This may not have gone well with Ahsan Dar. This led to fissures in HM. People who liked Ahsan Dar joined him. They formed a party: MM. The formation of MM has to be viewed in light of the change in leadership of HM. The rivalry between two groups was used by the agencies. But this happened later. When MM came into existence it enjoyed the favour across and here as well.

I did not know Ghulam Nabi Azad. Somebody someday in this market – Maharaj Bazaar – asked me if I know him. They said he is Ghulam Nabi Azad. The people who have left us Shabir Dar, Ghulam Nabi Sumji had gotten very close to these guys. They had friendship with Naba Azad. My approach to groups of militants has always been – positive. I don't want boys to fall out and break out. It would have helped if they stayed together. It was not only the gun, which mattered. It was perhaps interest as well. The interest of boys wielding guns. So, gun plus interest – anybody could be involved. But, I as President of Muslim Conference can state this – we paid not a penny to them. Who paid them? I don't know? Why they were paid? I don't know. They operated for sometime as genuine militants but then they chose to go against the defined policy of militant operations in Kashmir. It was their choice. But no money was given. I wouldn't accept relief money let alone militant money. But, sometimes yes – like if someone came with a gun and said I want Rs. 10,000 – I may have done it. But not with any group as such. It could have gone to pockets of individuals – I own that. But never as a policy.

My relationship with Ahsan Dar was as casual as with Salahuddin or other militant groups. Amidst the roar of gun, you have to behave. I wouldn't speak straight into their hearts. I can understand the dynamics of

militancy. You have to put up a face today but bow tomorrow. It all depends on the situation.

Muslim Conference was sold as political face of MM. Before that we were face of Jamiat-ul-Mujahideen. The militant groups had to have political parties, as their associates for registration and legitimacy on Pakistani side. I said once, that in politics rats marry snakes when I met Mufti Sahib. Many rats married many snakes during militancy. Even today. I was never a grocer in politics. We never collected money for Kashmir. On being asked by the researchers, who is the snake and who is the rat in case of Muslim Conference and MM relationship which carried on for around 3 years, Prof. Bhat replied by saying, *it is upto people to decide who were snakes and who were rats.*

It took just a few months and the MM changed over. It was an open secret that they worked for the army. Ikhwan was launched in broad daylight. When Naba Azad and a few of them joined the ranks as MM it was probably not a secret. By 1994/1995 it was all open. I don't agree that MM came before Ikhwan. Yasin, Geelani and I went to Islamabad to persuade them for not working for India. Naba Azad wasn't as free with me as he was free with Shabir Dar and Sumji. Since I was the head I knew it. As soon as they switched the relationship ended. It must have been 1994/1995. The relationship with Naba Azad was strategic but not normal like HM and Jamaat. I do not believe anyone from Muslim Conference joined as an active member of their ranks.

Athar, the Pattan commander of MM, used to come our office. Abdul Sattar, Jabbar Bhat, Akbar Rather, the Muslim Conference members from Pattan, alongwith Athar did come to our office in those days. I don't know what Athar was except that he was a militant with a gun. I don't know about him being a commander. Regarding your question of when they came and told me they were under pressure – I don't remember what could have happened. This issue could have been discussed. I may have told them to form a group and move ahead.

On the issue of me bypassing the MM hierarchy and directly dealing with the MM lower rung commanders, I would say that I never paid anything. I never accepted any money for militants and nor would I do that. Maybe individually when they came to me I paid some of them. Mushtaq [representative of Muslim Conference in Pakistan] was the one getting and giving money for MM. I don't know for how long this went on. I was never involved in monetary transactions.

Ghulam Mohiuddin Lone and me always had good relations and we never had any issue on money. You say we did. When he met last, he was killed later, he was hobnobbing with the "group of four" but he was never ever nasty in his conversations with me. I cannot even imagine that. He never said that people die and that we enjoy. This is baseless and tendentious.

I never met Bilal Siddiqui in Chaksari. We never met. This question of me offering army support at this meeting, let me say that one officer once met me. He came to my office here. It happened much before. Ahsan Dar was in prison. On Kashmir I talked to him straight. He was also straight. He said I recognize Kashmir is a dispute but I am from army and I have nothing to do with politics, my business is to tackle militancy. We have captured Ahsan Dar. Ahsan Dar has fallen out with HM boys. He has fallen into our hands and he is in prison. He was a Brigadier General of Kashmir – he was a Christian. I did not narrate this incident at a meeting. I never met Bilal Siddiqui when he came back. The discussion was on Kashmir.

I started as president as Muslim Conference in 1988 – when it was revived. I was president then. I was in jail in 1989. I was released in 1992. In 1992, 1993 we used to meet in Jawahar Nagar – we hired a room or two for office for sometime. Those days Jamiat-ul-Mujahideen used to operate as a group having political support from Muslim Conference.

When Ahsan Dar broke away from HM, he went to Pakistan. When he came back after a few months or a year he was arrested. I fell out with Ahsan Dar in initial days of militancy. We met in Khour, Pattan. He was with me at home as well for a night or two. Those days there was a Muzaffar Shah who had a separate group. Muzaffar Shah wanted to go with Ahsan Dar. I suggested it to Ahsan Dar. We exchanged hot words with regard to the organizational network of militancy. But he finally agreed. I couldn't meet Muzaffar Shah next. In 1989 – Fazal Sahib [Fazal Haq Qureshi, a prominent Hurriyat leader] was caught probably in the month of December before Rubaiya Syed's abduction. Fazal sahib got a letter from Muzaffar Shah and that's why he was caught. Muzaffar Shah might have referred to my name and I was also picked up. I was in jails in Jodhpur, Delhi and Jammu for two years and some months. I was released in 1992 probably in March or February. In 1994, I dissolved the executive council because I was the leader, even if I was not the President of Muslim Conference then. I enjoyed the confidence of the majority of members. I was defacto in charge. I took over as ad hoc president.

We patronized MM because we could not exercise choice – atleast not in a democratic manner. Everyone wanted a group. So Jamiat-ul-Mujahideen wanted to be closer to us. But we had different methods. After Jamiat set up an independent group or chose to operate individually than MM came into being. The former group of MM was Mujahideen–ul–Islam. It was a marriage. We couldn't fight them – Indian army and MM. But, at the same time, I don't think I would have defended MM by saying they are only against HM/Jamaat. I may have said that if the group is operating against HM it cannot be called anti national.

Bashir Shikari was killed by HM because he was a Muslim Conference member. I did protect Sumji and I met Amir-e-Jamaat [President] of Jamaat-e-Islami. Sumji made a mistake in that he gave shelter to Ahsan

Dar for some days at home. When Sumji was picked up there was no MM. Shikari was killed before Sumji was picked up. When we found out about MM's relationship with army we disassociated from them in letter and spirit. Hurriyat has condemned the Ikhwan and MM many times. But, perhaps we could not behave as boldly as you wish us to those days.

I only know that MM was a group that started as genuine and later in a few months they changed. They didn't take long. It could have happened in 1993/1994. They were never working for army during Ahsan Dar's arrest. Ahsan Dars arrest meant a lot as far as MM was concerned.

Hayat Khan was there and killed in 1994. He used to come to the office. I didn't know whether he was working for army or not. I don't think Naba Azad used to come here as often as you believe. He could have occasionally visited this office. He was never kept here, as you suggest, when he was injured. Aberrations happened because there was no organization discipline when the gun was there.

As a group, Hurriyat felt that fissures should never have happened. So whether they belonged to one group or another they should not have gone to army. So we did want that they be weaned away from army. Whether we formed a group to see them I can say with confidence if it was formed it was not a bad idea to have dialogue with them. But that did not happen. Hurriyat Conference never supported or could support Ikhwan or any other group, which directly or indirectly supported Ikhwan. This never could happen and if it could have happened it would have been discussed very seriously by other groups. That never happened. Ghulam Rasool Wani was asked to carry out a fact-finding regarding Ikhwan. He could have seen people and reported back. I don't know.

When Jehad Council was formed in Srinagar a meeting of Hurriyat happened where I saw one gentleman representing Jehad Council. I asked how many are we in the Hurriyat executive? Umar sahib said 7. I said we are 8. Who is the 8th? Lone sahib asked him to go out. I didn't want him to be part of Hurriyat executive council. Politics apart, militancy apart, even as a member of an organization I would not want it. He left. A meeting had been arranged between some Hurriyat members and Jehad Council and agreed that one of them would attend the meetings. I objected and he gracefully left. On that occasion I picked up courage and said that he should not be a member of a group. This was 1994/1995.

Many things could have happened those days. Maybe I retained some in my memory and some not. Many things would have gone wrong and I own it. But that was the situation – anything could happen anytime.

3. Mohammad Ahsan Dar, ex-Commander in Chief of HM and subsequently MM, resident of Chaksari, Pattan

I joined militancy in 1984. I was with Jamaat-e-Islami as well. I had a cousin and he had to have an operation in Bombay – at KEM hospital. It was January/February 1984. We were in Dongri then. Once one man caught me and asked me who Maqbool Bhat was. He knew I was Kashmiri. I was tired and I didn't know much as well. I was in Jamaat and we had a fixed literature to read which is limited. I wasn't able to answer. I may have said something but it was not a satisfactory response. This was around the exact time that he was hung. I felt I should know about this. I returned in April. There was one Habibullah Wani from Trehgam whom I spoke to. He knew I had an interest and he started guiding me. This is how my entry in the movement began. It is because of the embarrassment I faced there in Bombay. He began teaching me about things. It took him atleast one year. I then started discussing with my friends as well. I kept forwarding the information I was receiving.

I went to Pakistan in September, 1986. I went on a passport. There was no green signal from across but they were just planning things. It is because of my previous two years work that I was thinking of the future. Before 1987 we used to get weapons from Meerut, for example in 1986. Then I went to Pakistan. But I didn't find anything there but they told me they would inform me when it would start. The first action took place when I was in Pakistan. I was given a letter to take back and I tore it. I returned and rewrote it but almost exactly. There was only one mistake – instead of "S" at one point there was "T". Then we decided to do an attack and we did attacks on Amar Singh club, near Radio Kashmir etc. This was on 31 July 1988. It was originally planned for 13 July 1988 but due to lack of preparation and the late message it happened on 31 July 1988. Yasin and others, including Dr. Khursheed Ali Munshi and maybe Mushtaq Latram were not trained yet. This was JKLF but we called our group as Ansar-ul-Islam. JKLF was there before then itself. Those days there were small groups. JKLF had their head. I was part of the local group Ansar-ul-Islam. Nasir sahib was the head. We had a headquarters in Mughal Mohalla [Chattabal, Srinagar].

We all got caught in September 1988. But this was not on those attacks. Friends of Aijaz Dar were being arrested. Watali was DIG Kashmir and began a hunt for Aijaz Dar who had disappeared. Aijaz Dar ran to Ladakh. Then Aijaz Dar decided to go and hit Watali. He died in the attack on Watali. Then Aijaz's friends got picked up.

By October most of the boys were arrested. I was in for eight months.

By January / February 1989 – there were no militants outside. Some were across and others in jail. In jail we decided to do something. I left across too in April 1989. I left jail on 4 April 1989. I escaped from the hospital. When detained the torture was more in Rajbagh police station. R.K. Jalla was inspector then but he had small

hands and he couldn't do much. There was Ali Asgar as well who tortured me. He is now retired.

I stayed in Pakistan for only a month. There was no camp but it was only JKLF. People were renting houses and staying. There were 10-20 of us there. Yasin and others were also there in a different house as well.

When I returned in 1989 – Maqbool Ellahi and Farooq Qureshi were also with me. I left to Pakistan on 4 June and returned in a month. On our return we met some people including Majid Dar. We then had a meeting with Geelani sahib. This is July 1989 and we went to Geelani's house in Dooru. He said there was no option besides what you have done. But he said Jamaat-e-Islami will not be able to give support because Jamaat's constitution bars it to carry out underground activities. If they do so they will have to amend their constitution. As Syed Ali Shah Geelani, he said, he was with us but not as Jamaat. The first constitution of HM of Jammu and Kashmir was written by Geelani sahib at his house in Dooru subsequently. But that first night he didn't say anything about forming HM.

Meanwhile, I met Shabir Shah and Nayeem Khan in July itself. This was in Khour, Pattan in the house of Ghulam Mohammad Ganai. Shabir sahib said he wanted to go across. I said you can go right away. We had a team going across. Maqbool sahib, Majid Dar sahib etc. were going. Shabir, Nayeem, Babar Badr – who used to be called Maqbool then - were to go. Then we all reached Wali Mohammad Shah's house in Seelu, Sopore. We sent Abdul Rashid Chaplaa alais Captain Rashid, who was our guide, ahead to check the route but he got caught. Then the whole plan got flopped. People returned like Shabir, Nayeem and Babar Badr but our team that was to go went ahead.

Meanwhile, Hilal Ahmad Mir [alias Nasir-ul-Islam] was released in first week of August. They contacted me and we met in Khour. Hilal sahib said when you act people put it on the name of JKLF. You do the work but the propaganda goes to JKLF and you should own it. I said, okay I will own as Ansar-ul-Islam. He said, no, if you do that I will be caught again and I want a distance for a few years. He suggested the Hizbul Mujahideen [HM]. I said that name has already come in the paper a few times, but still I agreed. I said okay. I said I will talk to others as well. We heard that Ghulam Qadir Sofi's house had JKLF people coming and going. I wanted to have a meeting with him. The meeting was held at Rawalpora. I lost on arguments in the meeting. I found out that they had contacted Abdul Gani Lone who had managed the meeting through the people there in the room. I then told them let us not ask questions to each other, but let us make a common questionnaire and answer it. But they didn't agree and the issue did not get resolved. The differences were on how to go ahead. How to accommodate people across. As we were returning from Rawalpora my colleagues and I were wondering what to do. We decided that Wahid sahib would be Deputy Commander and I would be the Chief Commander. We then included people as commanders. We didn't know how war was fought. There were actually two commanders in field but we included others – some were across, one was in London as well. None of them knew this was happening. So we just formed the group. Pakistan only accepted HM in January or so 1990 because of the number of boys who went. We formed this in September 1989. Al-Safa was the only newspaper then who printed our press release about HM. We had general communication with Geelani then. But he didn't know about the formation of HM. But after formation we used to meet him but he had no active participation. His active participation started in November/December 1989.

We used to send boys across – our organization was forming and growing. I was the only man handling it. I decided that we needed an upper ground group. As I was connected to Jamaat, I approached them. Amir Jaamat Hakim Ghulam Nabi then was not ready. He didn't want to get caught in it. We had a system in place: seven people handling the administration. They were not handling political work but administrative work. For example, I wanted food somewhere or other such things for the boys. HM had only around 50 in the field then. Then we grew slowly. We had a two tier system – me on top and the administrators below. I knew the number of boys would grow and supplies and different things would require a system.

In December 1989, the first week, Rubaiya Syed was kidnapped. The results were bad. When the five militants were released people thought that Azaadi had been achieved. Yasin and others were introduced on a big level. They were advertised. We were still working but we were not getting advertised. I was doing my work. I was not interested in the media part. I knew, and continue to know, the villages very well.

Then, Nasir-ul-islam wanted to return. But the people around me did not respond properly to Nasir-ul-Islam. They thought of him only as an upper-ground worker. It was unfortunate thing that happened to him. His status was not recognized. These days Jamaat was joining us but they had not announced it. Meanwhile other things were happening – Mir Mustafa was killed, Moulvi Farooq was killed. Shabnam Lone was at the helm of affairs for JKLF then. So Jamaat was also feeling that they are not safe. Jamaat was getting insecure. Geelani was also one of the targets. Then I decided to push Jamaat to a decision. So we announced, in July 1990, that we are a military wing of Jamaat. Then they would have to decide. But Nasir sahib did not like this and he separately organised Jamiat-ul-Mujahideen.

In 1990 March, many people wanted to go across. Salahuddin was released from central jail Srinagar in those days after having been arrested during elections. He was released in January or February 1990. He told someone near Panthachowk that he wants to go across. Anyway, he became nominal head of HM - which was the bridge between administrators and militants. This happened in July 1990 I think. We had

requested for him and Jamaat deputed him for this purpose.

Then I had differences. We had a way of working. We had 6300 boys with guns in Kashmir. Not across, but in the valley. This was June 1991. I went to the Amir Jamaat [president of Jamaat-e-Islami] and told him we are going to lose the war. He said why are you saying this now when yesterday you were saying something else? I said we are deciding local civil disputes and by this many people are getting angry. Even if the decision is right, the person gets angry. I said I want four things – assign proper work to proper persons, no mujahid is allowed to live an individual life i.e. they should be with family or others – no alone activity. Even if he goes home there should be others. Third, no role in public issues. Fourth, I want to disarm everyone. I didn't want my boys in the market area. I didn't want warfare within people because we only lost out through it. I said by disarming some people would be killed – 200-300 people. But I knew remaining would be released. I knew the government was going to control the borders. I said you either agree or convince me. They said I was killing them.

Also, another incident took place in Kujar, these days in tehsil Yaripora. Then it was Kulgam tehsil. Two people died there - brother and sister. Father was Abdul Gani Dar, Rukun of Jamaat [basic member]. When I went there 6 days later the father blamed HM. He said only HM had guns there. In the local masjid a Jamaat leader said the response to killing was killing. They didn't know who had done it. Everyone in Jamaat was saying that there had to be a justice system. It all came on me. We found out that Mir Sonaullah's son Muzaffar was responsible. Mir Sonaullah was an important person in the area of Jamaat. The boy was a militant. Now everyone was getting letters that this boy should not be killed. I said I will not interfere because it is an issue between Jamaat. I said the father of the two dead people was also part of Jamaat and had to deal with the Jamaat and he had to do what he wanted. I said the accused boy would die unless you all decide yourself. So we arrested Muzaffar. We disarmed him. The question is whether it was a misfire or deliberate. The boy had died at a distance from the girl and the way the fire had happened it was clearly deliberate. It could not be a misfire. They had no decision. Incidentally Muzaffar was shot when he tried to escape from the boys. I was not there on the scene then though. This incident created further issues between Jamaat and me.

I then formed Mujahideen-e-Islam in June 1992. Bilal Siddiqui headed it. I was just a normal soldier in it. We both then went across. MM was formed in January 1993. There were full of HM. I was arrested in December 1993 and then Bilal Siddiqui came in.

4. Liyaqat Ali Khan, ex-commander of Ikhwan-ul-Muslimoon, resident of Islamabad

My nickname was "Shouf" but my name is not Mohammad Shafi Khan as you suggest. When I was in Ikhwan my code was Hilal Haider. I do not remember my earlier code names.

In 1989 when militancy began I like others got involved in militancy as well. I went to Pakistan in 1990 for a year with HM. I spent a year there. I saw many things over there. There were maybe 150 militant organizations in Kashmir. In Muzafarabad there were so many political and militant organizations. This disturbed me i.e. so many groups when the aim was one. I also went to Afghanistan for 6-7 months. I returned to Muzafarrabad then. I was in an ISI camp. I was 17-18 then in those days. I started to get a bit distracted from the movement during my stay in Pakistan. I asked the ISI in charge at the camp – I had become a bit friendly with him – there are a few thoughts in Kashmir – independence, Pakistan, India – three options. He said Pakistan doesn't trust Kashmir. Pakistan has created confusion so that one leadership doesn't rise. This is so that Kashmir would not dictate terms. We want to dictate terms, he said. This made me more unhappy with the movement. Also, the day I crossed over – 3 days and 3 nights we had 17 in the group. Some people could not do it. It was very difficult climbing through the mountains. I got food poisoning. As we reached the border – when I reached the no mans land I was to collapse but a boy behind me pushed me on. So when we reached Pakistan first picket they had some puris for us. But the only ones who could eat were the one's with strength. But I was happy we reached. But, they said we have to go down more because otherwise Indians can see us. Then 1.5 hours later we reached a place where there was a small masjid. 17 of us and some Pakistani officers were there. The Pakistanis got disturbed with us also cramping their space. They woke up. I was next to them. They said why do you come like goats – why don't you stay where you are in a nice country. This point added to my next experiences.

I returned in 1991 – September/October. By this time the kidnappings of Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen had already happened. HM had been created through ISI to counter JKLF. It was to establish pro-Pakistan thought for which Jamaat-e-Islami helped. Jamaat had been hurt before in the anti Jamaat riots of 1979 after Z.A. Bhutto was assassinated in Pakistan and so when they got power they started taking revenge. Plus there were directions from Pakistan. That was a big mistake from ISI. Then HM started killing JKLF boys. I had come back and joined Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen – those days it was called SLF – in 1991 it became Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen. Hilal Baig had converted it. Pakistan had stopped weapons supply to SLF – which was the student's wing of JKLF. SLF therefore got renamed to Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen. Hilal Baig entered into an agreement with Pakistan that it would be renamed and they too would say pro-Pakistan thing to get weapons etc. Those days the group clashes were on between HM and JKLF. Then they attacked the other groups after JKLF. Finally the fight reached Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen and HM. I was tortured by them. Once they

tried to burn me. One was Abu-Bakr, the other was Sidiq. These two are the ones who also killed Mirwaiz Qazi Nisar. They caught me once but I escaped. My friend was with me. The second time they caught me they wanted to burn me. They took the grass from the fields and were going to put inside but luckily family and relatives came where we were. They came just in time and I escaped.

All this was disappointing me. Sajad Kanue was the Deputy Chief Commander of Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen but he was in Pakistan when all this was happening to me. Our district commander was a Jan Mohammad Khan. He died naturally sometime back. Pin Khan was with us. I ran away from Islamabad. In town there was fear of army and outside of the town in the villages was the problem with HM.

By 1994 the Ikhwan had become very weak. People had left etc. and we were stuck in just town. The army was in the town in the daytime. We were therefore stuck inside the house. Outside of town we had to contend with HM. So in 1994 I left Islamabad and went to Srinagar. In this time, Kuka Parray's [another infamous Ikhwan commander from North Kashmir] name came forward. A new thought emerged. This was to keep one safe, and to keep the family safe. There was clearly only one option. There were 20-25 of us. We got organized and we contacted the army. This was probably end 1994. By then I was back from Srinagar. For the connection with army there was no option in Srinagar, and I had to come back to Islamabad [I used to stay near Barbar Shah in Srinagar. I am basically from Srinagar]. In those days in Khanabal army camp there was 1 Sector RR and Brigadier M.P. Singh. We contacted him. Abdul Hamid Rather alias Nasir contacted the army on our behalf. There was a person called Shabir Badoori – he was our leader. Sajad Kanue was in jail. Jan Khan was in Pakistan. So it was left to us people who were present i.e. Abdul Rashid Wani, alias Nannaji, Abdul Hamid Rather alias Nasir, resident of Mir Bazaar, Tahir, and myself. The army had already sent us feelers to meet. Feelers came when news of Kuka Parray was coming in – this was around 1994. By the time the feelers came the Ikhwan as a militant group was breaking.

Some of the boys who did not agree with the direction of the new Ikhwan ran away from Ikhwan. We had no terms and conditions with the army. The only thing was that we would work together. M.P. Singh was the initial contact. Initial six or eight months we had contact with him. But then the Ikhwan spread like fire. Tral, Pahalgam…various places. Boys joined in. They joined from Al-Jehad, JKLF etc. We reached a strength of 500 within 6 months. They all were working under our command. We also reached Qazigund where 2 Sector was, Kulgam had 3 Sector. In the beginning no one was sure we would survive. Shabir Badoori also resigned and he asked us to decide who would be commander. Shabir was our commander for about 8 months of 1995 maybe. He then joined HM. He must have felt the Ikhwan movement was wrong. But, Shabir attended dozens of meetings as commander with the army. He died in an encounter with army near Bijbehara. Anyway, after he resigned we had chits of the seniors put in. My name came out and I became commander. So we started meeting three brigadiers within 5-6 months. Kokernag came under Qazigund. 3 Sector had Brigadier Ahlawat. 2 Sector had some Rakesh Das. The force was RR.

What the Indian State could not do, we managed to do in a short time. Then in 1996 the first elections happened. MM and Ikhwan helped in this. We created atmosphere. We worked from December 1994 till early 1996 – about 14 months. What the force got most from us- because we were local and knew militants – was that we could connect the army to the local people. People became informers. Every day we would get 5-6 bits of information. Our manpower was too few to handle the information. The biggest benefit from us was therefore intelligence gathering. We also used to assist the army in operations – again where to go and which house to go to was our work. The army itself did the actions. We used to route information through wireless systems. We also had access to various places. As things spread – we also had local commanders in different places. There were our boys everywhere. We facilitated all this. Boys were communicating with individual camps in the area. So we had for example area A – we had 5-6 boys. They were given weapons. By then we were dealing with the Core commanders and I did not have to be on the ground anymore. By 1996 – I was almost in politics. When I used to go to Victor Force – the Commander used to say he had four commanders – 1 sector, 2 sector, 3 sector and Liyaqat.

The main things I did for militancy were: fought and contained militancy, ensured a sense of safety and security amongst general masses, and political workers who had migrated from Kashmir came back and started a political process.

It took us only a few months to spread outside the town. HM people also surrendered before us quietly. Even today people do not know that they had surrendered. The encounters used to be fake as well. Or they used to give us guns and run. One HM battalion commander came to us and said that they had left weapons somewhere and sent off the boys. They would ask to be saved. Then we would collect the weapons in a fake operation to save their faces as well. We did not kill people as much as people surrendered before us. Hurriyat has a tape where in an interrogation of a person in which it is said that Abu Bakar, and Siddique killed Mirwaiz Qazi Nisar. He was killed because he was Hanfi and not Jamaati. To settle old scores the Jamaat directed HM to kill Kashmiris regardless of caste and creed. Ikhwan is the creation of high handedness of HM. Ikhwan would not have been there if HM had not done harm.

For political processes my contact was General Dhillon, 15 Corps. After him was General Kishan Pal. General Sihota was in Victor Force. After him General

Shantanu Choudhary was in Victor Force. By then we also had contacts in Delhi – Home Ministry. The move towards elections, General Dhillon and General Choudhary were the main people. Even the army was focused on restoration of political process. The army was also involved in various other things – medical camp etc. The police was then defunct. The army was the only functional thing – and their functional link was Ikhwan. The two main things responsible for elections were army and Ikhwan.

Sri Nath Tickoo was with our political party and he fought elections. Before that he was a teacher. He fought from Mattan and lost. Bushanlal was with our political party. Dar was also with the political party. There were also Ghulam Nabi CID, Ghulam Rasool Moori and Captain Tickoo. Captain Tickoo was advisor to Kuka Parray. I did not need advisors. Masarat Bilal was Ikhwani and now he is in PDP. First he was with us and then went to work with army elsewhere.

There were only two camps of Ikhwan – Kadipora and Janglat Mandi. DFO, Khanabal was of MM. Outside Islamabad there were many camps. These two Ikhwan camps were under Khanabal army camp. They were under the Brigadier there.

Captain Clifton was with 31 CIU. His name outside was Bulbul. Even Tahir would not know his name. We engaged with him till he was here. He was here till 1996/1997. Before that he was in North Kashmir. I never asked Clifton if he was instrumental in setting up the Ikhwan. He was just a friend and Ikhwan never came under CIU. But he used to facilitate our meetings with the top commanders like GOC Victor Force. I do not remember other names of CIU people except a person named Asija who was a General.

In 1996, there were elections. Bashir Dada was the candidate. Bashir Dada was my teacher earlier and so I knew him. One day I was at home, the same place I live in today. Bashir Dada, Zafar Salati, and Shabir Ahmad from Sarnal came to me. I was worried to see my teacher. Actually before this Dada had called me because his elder brother or someone was taken by SOG. I had helped. The SOG and the Ikhwan were working together. The SP was J.P Singh [presently he is posted in traffic department]. So there were only 4-5 people of SOG from Islamabad – including SP. Local police was itself defunct. J.P Singh and me were like two friends. J.P. Singh was not under me but he was with us. So there were three sectors: army, J.P.Singh with SOG and me of Ikhwan.

Just to deviate but give you an example of the state of police. In this time we caught a robbery. 5-7 shops used to be robbed together. So people suspected Ikhwan because we had presence. So we wanted to fix our image. So we told the boys and they looked into it and we caught some thieves red handed. This was the police job but we did it. I asked them to hand the thieves to police station. The SHO wasn't willing to take them as he was scared. But we told him that even he has to be active. We told him don't fight militancy but look at law and order. We helped the civil administration. They were also scared. There was a person called Chunni Lal a Deputy Commissioner and we encouraged him to begin his work. Even the army wanted to have a limited role. Army and our joint decision and Government of India as well were to let the local administration get back. So the IB people used to meet us, as well as the Victor Force commander. By 1996 we were established with IB and the first IB person I met was Doval Sahib. Doval's instruction also was to get civil administration up and running. In this context I remember that Farooq Abdullah boycotted parliamentary elections because he was scared. It sent a wrong message. So Government of India had to convince him as it sent the wrong message for National Conference to boycott elections. So once Home Minister S.B. Chauhan, or maybe the person after him, told us to go and meet Farooq Abdullah. We had to make him strong. Farooq made lunch himself. We told him to come and fight elections. I was not part of this meeting but I heard of it from my other colleagues.

So going back to the three people coming to my house. I greeted Dada. He told me that he wanted to fight elections. Maybe he thought India's best bet in Kashmir was Ikhwan and maybe he wanted to exploit the situation in his favour and he thought he would win. We also thought we would win seats. We thought Bashir Dada was the best bet – a clean, gentle face joining Ikhwan.

Election's difficulty was mainly militancy. Militants were targeting rallies. IEDS were being used. Some candidates were targeted. Bashir Dada's constituency was town and we had domination. Bashir Dada was able to move without PSOs as well. Bashir Dada took a premature retirement. Before his nomination papers – within 24 hours – his premature retirement was done. Core Headquarters called Chief Secretary and told him that it should happen quickly. Bashir Dada came late to us and therefore it was not done before. We had thought Abdul Rashid Misgar would be fielded. He was also with the Ikhwan. We had Awaami Conference. Later I was with Awaami League led by Kuka Parray. Who would contest was upto me. I was working as political worker and army had no role because it was my proposal and they had a different job. I thought they were supportive but later I found out they were not. I thought Government of India would help, frankly speaking, but we didn't win so they didn't help. I can't remember if Bashir Dada's name was not on the voter list. That would not be a big deal, the Deputy Commissioner would tell the clerk – it wouldn't be the Deputy Commissioner doing it. The army did not support us in this election.

In this interview there is a lot of focus on the army – but, the decisions were from Home Ministry and IB – the army had to implement the decisions. Even the army would not know. Delhi wanted to install Farooq Abdullah. That time things were very confusing and plus we were young. We had less experience as well.

Situation was also unpredictable. We were also encouraging Farooq sahib as we thought we would get a few seats and rest he would take. We were actually working against ourselves and Farooq Abdullah won. In whole Kashmir Valley – on name of Awaami League – 86 or 87000 votes were won. In Islamabad – we lost by 500 votes. Dada got the periphery of Islamabad town – they always vote. 50 percent is town and 50 percent is village. They always voted. Even if 1000 relatives had voted for Dada he would have still lost on 500 votes. Dada got it wrong like our calculations.

After elections I was still in charge overall and I was in politics. Ikhwan funding was from General Kishan Pal – 15 Corps and from army. In the beginning the Ikhwan boys got Rs. 3000 and upwards. Commanders got 5000/6000. But once Farooq Abdullah came in he wanted it equalized with the SPOs who got Rs. 1500 only. Even after civilian government came in the money of Rs. 1500 came through the army. The civil administration did not pay. Later the police – 2000/2001 made Ikhwan into SPO.

When Shabir Badoori was in Ikhwan we did not receive money from army. Even when I first was commander there was no salary. We used to sustain by collections, sometimes army gave lump sum amounts. For example, on eid they would give Eidi, salwar kameez. Ikhwanis, including commanders are living a miserable life. This is the projection of media that Ikhwanis have money. Compared to separatists and anti-Indians, Ikhwanis are living a worse life. For example, the recent news of this tehreeki person getting 3 crores for the movement. You can imagine what their leaders would have. I am not saying only India has cheated its people. It is not like Pakistan has not cheated its men. You cannot talk of only money. Talk to the HAJY group. They were told to start the movement and Pakistan will follow. Now, see the separatist camp it is divided. That's why Yasin, Geelani and Aasiya did not go for Eid Milan – they feel cheated.

In 1995, the situation of arming the Ikhwan was as follows. There used to be a ratio with the army. An operation that happened because of our information would result in an equal division of arms between Ikhwan and army. Ammunition used to come from army but not weapons. We facilitated to the extent that we divided things up and each Ikhwan unit had it's own camp to deal with. For example, Ikhwan in Islamabad was run by people like Tahir, Nannaji etc. So they – local leaders - interacted with camps. I also used to talk to the Brigadier but these boys also could talk to them. We used to have meeting on alternate days with the army. Brigadier would be there, and also the Ikhwan including me.

When the push of militancy came in 1999 – 99 percent were with army, 1 percent with police. Overtime our role also came down. Even the militancy changed tactics and there were also new militants that we didn't know about. HM started attacking us from 1997/1998. Our boys were also a bit casual – go sit in a shop, go meet people without weapons. So we changed our strategy – people in political parties got protection. But we got affected – out of 500 – maybe 100 were killed.

MM came up separately. They were with the police. They were before us but they were not as effective. We stayed there in Shehlipora where the MM was based for a few months. We were less in numbers in the beginning. Nabi Azad had established himself before itself. MM even then worked with army but more for police. I think P.S. Gill had some involvement with the MM. They were also in DFO, Khanabal here. We were friendly with them. They had different operations. They worked sometimes with army as well though but they were more with police. I do not know about their funding. They were double minded and double agents – they had one leg in militancy and one with state. MM was formed in early 1994 and then the SOG were there. Army would have known of MM and wanted it. But I cannot say more on how exactly MM was formed or the connections they had. MM was only 50-60 boys I think whereas we were much larger. Ikhwan was disciplined. Ikhwan in South Kashmir was disciplined. The Ikhwan of Kuka and ours were different but because we were from the same Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen we were the same. We had meetings with them and joined. I met Kuka Parray in 1994. This time I was in Srinagar. I met him in Hajin. This was after we had decided to join and I went to meet him but he didn't help us. By then we knew what to do ourselves. We met him around the time we were talking to the army. Ikhwan was in two places – Kuka Parray's of Hajin Sonawari area in North Kashmir and South Kashmir. In places like Pulwama, Budgam the Ikhwan there were actually run by CRPF/BSF and they were their creations. Even local army camps started small groups like this in other area. These were local initiatives. So we were defamed by them. Someone like Muma Kanna is an example.

We had a ceasefire agreement with Harkat-ul-Ansar. We were against only HM. Harkat was a big organization after HM. They used to come and sleep in our places. We used to tell the army about this and that we were fighting only against HM. So we did give them shelter. But then Sikander did do some blasts against us – at the Mattan adda bunker and the bus stand area. Then we opposed them. Interestingly, they never allowed the lower level boys to stay with us. Maybe that's because they always had a plan against us and they did not want their boys to get used to us.

Subsequently, I tried to join BJP. Farooq Abdullah was asking me to join him. This is 1997/1998. He wanted to make an MLC and Minister. I didn't want to leave others in my group. I wanted to proceed as a group. They said they would appoint me DSP directly – I would be DIG now. But I chose to stay with the boys. I thought as a group we would be established. But it didn't happen unfortunately. We wanted our identity.

I joined BJP in 1998. We thought we cannot proceed with BJP. We thought they would have no future in Kashmir. I was with BJP for 5-6 months. But, there was

some negativity from the party against us. For example, Chaman Lal Gupta from Jammu was negative to us.

In 2002 elections I fought even though I knew I would lose but I wanted people to know I was serious. By then army was against me. Bikram Singh [who later became the Indian army chief] was commander here in 2000/2001 and he had a problem with me and he did not like me. This is when he came as Brigadier to Khanabal. Initially he was kind to me and we were friends. Initially I would even meet him regularly. But then relations got spoilt. Then even I broke with Ikhwan because my relation was bad with Bikram Singh. So I left Ikhwan in 2000/2001. Then I got completely into politics. Still I fought in 2002 to show seriousness.

After 2002, militancy was big. So I went to Noida. Then I stayed for a year or year and a half but my family stayed for 6 years. I sold my original house here and stayed there. I lost 2008 elections as well as Government of India was not helping.

When General V.K. Singh was Chief of army I met him. I knew him from 2005 when he was in Victor Force. I raised the issue of Ikhwan. By then Tahir had joined Territorial Army [TA]. I met many people to persuade them to form a TA battalion for the Ikhwan in the past in 2003 as well. There were a total of 400-500 boys who could have gone from Ikhwan. But the SSP in 2003 from Srinagar or Anantnag interfered and did not allow it as he wanted some of these boys in the police. So, 100-150 went into the police. Jehangir Khan was the senior most of them.

I can respond to specific allegations you have put to me as follows:

- *I only called Engineer Farooq Khan when he was arrested. SSP Farooq Khan made me make the call but I did not realize they would arrest him.*
- *The allegation that I had taken away Zafar Salati's car is not correct. He did complain about me taking his car but it was not such a big affair.*
- *Specific allegations about torture etc I cannot remember. These incidents you are recounting, 100 can be right, 1000 can be false. Our families were killed so naturally we would pick up family members of militants etc. So it was a normal routine to pick up people along with police, CRPF – not just torturing but also questioning. The army used to catch and interrogate people – even though information flow was there we still needed to retrieve information.*
- *Abbas Bengali was killed in encounter. He was what he was. I think SOG or army did the operation. He was like Babloo – he was sometimes here or there. Everyone was looking for him. Whosoever was militant, our people were after him. I do not know if Tahir was part of encounter.*
- *Yes, Shahbaz was disappeared but I am ignorant as to how. He got disappeared in Lal Chowk, Anantnag. The shopkeeper there says that people came in army uniform and took him. We searched everywhere. Every camp. They said we haven't taken him. I think he is the only one who got disappeared.*
- *Regarding the killing of Showkat Shardar: I was out of station I was in Delhi then. The Ikhwan said they did not pick him up.*
- *Regarding Babloo planning an attack on me I can say I do not know and he is capable of saying anything. Babloo was around as Ikhwan till 2003 or so. Sometimes he would be with JKLF and sometimes Ikhwan. He had links with Yasin Malik. He also had links even when he was with us. He had the sympathy of his brothers. Incidentally, we had a local understanding with JKLF to allow them political activity – like with Shafi Misgar, who had assured his support in elections. At the time of Dada's elections he met and said he would use good offices to make sure Dada wins. He maintained good relations.*
- *As far as providing women to army is concerned, our boys were not involved like this as far as I know. But some people had connections. Only some army officers were like this.*
- *Look if someone was killed they should have gone to the police station and filed FIR. Ikhwan was not involved in those killings. People should have approached the police.*

There have been attacks against me. Grenades were thrown against me when I was outside. When I was staying elsewhere, the HM came and tried to kidnap my brother but my neighbors foiled it. Grenade was thrown at me in town. Once they kept a boy waiting for me with a pistol. Tahir went that way and he was shot.

5. Bashir Colonel, ex-commander of Ikhwan-ul-Muslimoon, resident of Lovloo, Dexum, Islamabad

In early 90's many militants of HM outfit used to take food and shelter in my house, but once in 1992 militants were raided by army and BSF personnel nearby my house, during which they had a narrow escape. After some days militants of HM outfit raided my house and picked up my father on the allegation of giving information to army about the movement and presence of militants in the area. The militants beat up my father, throttled him and detained him for two days.

The torture provoked me to join another militant outfit so that I could take revenge of my father's ill-treatment. The HM militants who had picked up my father belonged to the same area and were known to me. Then in 1992 I joined Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen. I worked with it for two years. During this work there had been strong contention between Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen and

HM. HM militants used to kill militants of Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen outfit and were in power. When activists of Ikhwan outfit felt shrunken they started to surrender in front of police and army agencies in the district. In 1994 when hundreds of activists of Ikhwan surrendered they formed a new group and named it as Ikhwan-ul-Muslimoon. The group started to work with army and police in the district. While they surrendered they handed over their weapons to police. Police registered their weapons and returned them and engaged them to counter militancy in South Kashmir.

I started to work as Ikhwani in 1994 and was working under the Battalion Commander Rashid Munshi in the Achabal-Dexum belt and all other nearby areas. The then district head of Ikhwan was Liyaqat Ali Khan, who used to stay at Islamabad.

Initially we worked jointly with MM who were based in Shehlipora, Achabal and were headed by Nabi Azad. After around 1 year the groups started to work separately. MM was mostly working with police and SOG whereas Ikhwan were working with all the security agencies particularly with the army.

After Ikhwan became active in counter insurgency we formed camps nearby army quarters. The camps were established in different geographical locations of the district. Initially the cadres succeeded in killing large number of militants as they took the benefit of their identity like that of militants. Whenever militants of some organization were moving in the jungle area they used to face activists of Ikhwan and would consider us as active militants. When the militants were passing bye we were laying ambush and killing the militants in disguise.

Initially there were about 450 members in Ikhwan who became operative in different areas of South Kashmir. Groups of 20-30 established camps. Group of 10-15 Ikhwanis used to patrol in every area for militants and collecting information about their movement.

Members of Ikhwan used to visit the houses of sources or sometimes sources used to contact us from PCOs to give information about militant movements. When sources would give any information from any area, Ikhwan with the help of army and SOG used to cordon the area and hold crackdowns. From parade grounds we used to arrest our sources and beat them in front of locals just to avert any disclosure of their identity as informers. We used to detain sources for sometime and then would release them after getting accurate information about the hiding of militants in village. Afterwards the army and Ikhwan would cordon the identified place and launch encounter operations to kill the militants. The sources were being paid by us and usually the rate of giving information was Rs. 10,000-15000 depending on the number of militant hiding at the place identified by source. Basically the money for sources was being paid by army but they were paying less ranging from Rs. 5000 – 10,000.

Ikhwan were not given any salary. We were just provided with 2-4 bottles of alcohol a day and bullets for using them during operations. From 1998-2003 the army started to give us salary ranging from Rs. 2500-3000 or in special cases Rs. 4500 for commanders.

I alone handed over 88 dead bodies to the 36 RR camp in the Wailoo area. Apart from this I handed over 5-10 dead bodies to almost all the other military and paramilitary agencies working in South Kashmir. Among the agencies are BSF, CRPF, SOG, different regiments' of Grenadiers, Raputana Rifles, Sikh regiments, etc...

I took over as battalion commander probably in 2001 after Rashid Munshi was killed by militants along with his two police guards and two Ikhwanis. I killed most number of militants after I took over as battalion commander in 2001. Once in the year 2000 I killed 8 militants together including one local militant. For collecting information about the 8 militants I had to pay Rs. 15000 to my sources against which army paid only Rs. 10,000 to me. So I had to incur a loss of Rs. 5000. Besides killing militants I helped in arresting large number of most wanted militants.

From 1998 to 2003 we were being paid small amount of salary but from 2003 not a single penny was paid. In 2003 army snatched our weapons and isolated us.

Our life was completely ruined. Future of our children is in dark. We are not able to work because we are hated in the society everywhere. Due to insecurity and impending threat to life from more than 75% locals we cannot live in our houses. I have hired a small room near to the army camp where I stay for night along with my family. Even I am not able to arrange Rs. 600, which is my room rent. This time I visit army camp and talk to officials about the miseries, which I face but no help is given except some alcohol bottles are given. I drink to avert depression because we achieved nothing and lost everything. Sometimes, I think to commit suicide.

6. Fayaz Ahmad Bhat alias Tanveer, resident of Shehlipora, Achabal, Islamabad, ex-commander of Muslim Mujahideen

I am originally a resident of Pattan area of district Baramulla. I crossed line of control in 1989 for arms training. After receiving training for more than one year I returned to Kashmir and started to work as an activist of JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front]. I was mostly operative in District Baramulla and District Budgam.

JKLF came under tough rivalry with HM. On one side the group was fighting with military and paramilitary troopers and on the other side we used to face clashes with HM. All through the clashes between two outfits many members of JKLF fell to the bullets of HM militants.

At some point in 1991, I was arrested by the army during a raid in Budgam. I was arrested along with my

AK-47 rifle, which I had brought from Pakistan. I was dejected and disheartened by the routine clashes between our outfit and HM. After my arrest I declared my surrender with army. Shortly after 6 months I was released from the jail. Due to fear for life from HM outfit I migrated to Shehlipora, Achabal, Islamabad, where I had some of my friends. After release I completely relinquished my relations with JKLF. Few weeks after my release the militants of HM outfit raided my residential place in Shehlipora. They forced me to join their outfit or to face consequence. To save my life I joined HM and started to work with them in the Achabal area.

In 1992 there was disturbance within HM between Syed Salahuddin and Mohammad Ahsan Dar. When the contention between two commanders intensified Ahsan Dar along with his 350 supporters disaffiliated himself from HM and formed a new group namely Muslim Mujahideen. MM under the patronization of Ahsan Dar started to operate in South Kashmir also. Majority of militants in MM outfit were fed up with the disorder and fuss among the militant groups particularly from HM. Few months after the formation of MM we decided to surrender in front of state, but our commander Ahsan Dar refused to do so. To make our surrender policy successful we made a decision to get Ahsan Dar arrested. Once he stayed at Rajbagh we informed police and got him detained. Then around 350 workers of MM surrendered in front of SP Gill at District Police Lines Baramulla.

On our surrender, police registered our names along with our weapons. Shortly, we became operatives in counter insurgency operations with police in South Kashmir. We established our encampment at Shehlipora village because MM already had a strong hold in the village. All 350 activists were staying in same village and our chief commander was Ghulam Nabi Azad. Police returned our weapons and provided us ammunition for combating militants. From 1994 police started to provide us salary. General rank activists were paid rupees 1500/month while the commanders and battalion commanders were paid 4500/month. Money was being brought by Nabi Azad from district police lines Anantnag. Initially we worked together with Ikhwan-ul-Muslimoon but later we withdrew because they were working with multiple security agencies whereas we had intended to work with police and SOG only. All the activists of MM were putting up at Shehlipora. On the periphery of the village the MM workers had constructed bunkers. Many a times the village came under strong attacks by HM militants. The main target of MM was militants of HM outfit.

In 1996 there was strong influence of militancy in South Kashmir. Even police was afraid of militant strikes. In the same year Dr. Farooq Abdullah, former president of National Conference wanted to organize an election campaigning activities concerning then State Legislative Assembly Elections. Police refused to provide protection to the NC rally. But our commander Nabi Azad offered protection to Farooq Abdullah and with our help he held a big rally at Bijbehara. For giving protection to NC rally and to make NC win in South Kashmir Farooq Abdullah assured us that he would give four seats to the senior members of MM in the legislative council. Even he gave us written deed about this negotiation, which still might be lying with some activist of MM. He also promised Nabi Azad that he would make him deputy CM of Jammu and Kashmir. We were powerful in the area. In lure of political interests we forcibly took out people from houses for casting their votes to NC during 1996 Assembly Elections. It was only MM which made the elections possible in South Kashmir and also helped NC in winning the seats. Later, after NC came in power they breached us and could not keep their promises. They used us to win the elections.

Even in 1990's when nobody from New Delhi dared to visit Kashmir our commander talked to then Prime Minister Mr. Gujral and Mr. Rajesh Pilot who had planned to visit state for announcing Jammu-Srinagar railway project. We provided complete protection to the Prime Minister during his three days visit to South Kashmir. We even organized everything despite extreme fear from the militant organizations. More than 200 members of MM safeguarded all the activities during Prime Ministers visit to the state. Nabi Azad was in very close relation with Mr. Gujral and Mr. Rajesh Pilot. Nabi Azad visited New Delhi many times to meet the central government ministers.

We killed many militants of HM and other outfits - mostly foreigners. To get the information about the hiding of militants, MM activists were using local sources. Sources were being paid by MM. Small operations were being carried out by the MM activists themselves whereas the big operations were done with the assistance of police and SOG and sometimes other military or paramilitary agencies.

Our commander Nabi Azad was a very clever and intelligent person. Our main intention was to eliminate HM militants but sometimes militants of other groups like Harkat were also being killed during our operations. In retaliation Harkat killed many of our activists. In mid 90's we had ceasefire with Harkat-ul-Ansar because both Harkat and MM was in conflict with HM. Despite working with police we discussed with Harkat not to harm each other and jointly combat HM militants. Nabi Azad after discussing with Javaid Ahmad [then commander of Harkat] declared ceasefire between MM and Harkat. After ceasefire Nabi Azad sent many MM spies to join Harkat who used to work as secret agents. Harkat entertained our cadres and deemed them as normal militants who combat security agencies. Our spies were collecting information about the actions and plans of Harkat minutely which also helped our group to eliminate whole Harkat outfit from the district. Nabi Azad had a deliberate ceasefire with Harkat just to get MM agents infiltrated into Harkat. The undercover agents were deployed to scout every move of the outfit. This

strategy proved successful to MM in countering Harkat outfit.

In the beginning of 2003, Nabi Azad was killed by militants and then I took over as the chief commander of MM. I worked as head of MM for about four months. When I took over as chief, police provided a bullet proof ambassador car to me and also deployed six PSO's for my security. I also contested Panchayat elections and won it. Apart from being the chief of MM I also happened to be the Sarpanch for six villages. But in the same year police ordered us to surrender the weapons because PDP government came in power. All MM activists surrendered in front of police. Since 1994 police and government had promised us jobs in defense but at the end they expelled us without caring for our lives and future. Since we quit working as counter-insurgents we were left helpless.

We face many social problems as we are hated in the society. Whenever there is any pro–freedom uprising in Kashmir we migrate near to district police lines Islamabad. Our life has become fragile as fear for life always impends on us.

My house in Shehlipora was attacked five times. Due to security reasons I had sent my family to Jammu. My house was protected by 12 security officers of police who used to stay there day and night. I myself would stay at safer places inside the village. I was safeguarded by 6 PSOs. Once a rocket hit the kitchen of my house and smashed the construction completely.

7. Sameer Darzi, alias Babloo, ex-member of Ikhwan-ul-Muslimoon, resident of Islamabad town.

Manzoor-ul-Islam's beginning is in 1987. He was caught and taken to Red 16 and there he met Shakeel Bakshi. I was small then. He was released after a month. He had been picked up from forces from there itself. Then he was with Islami Jamiat Tulaba. He then ran Jamiat here for a year and was also Imam in the masjid here. He was caught because of his Jamiat involvement.

A few years passed. Then in 1989-1990, Showkat Bakshi, Ishfaq Majeed and Sheikh Mushtaq Ahmad Lone from Channapora came home. There was also a person called Mohammad Saleem alias Nannaji. From then itself they all had weapons. He came with them to the house. I was very small. They had a green gypsy. They then again went to Srinagar. I was also with them. We stayed in Rawalpora with a person called Jimmy. He provided hideout support to them. When Manzoor returned he had weapons with him – one AK 47, two pistols and a grenade. Some boys were with him. After the release of five people after the Rubaiya Sayeed [daughter of Mufti Mohammad Sayeed] kidnapping, Manzoor did a firing in Lal Chowk, Islamabad. He was then exposed as militant as well. On the occasion of eid as well he showed the AK47 and gave a speech. There were also processions. Those days he used to get weapons from Srinagar. There were 6-7 boys from this mohalla. They went to Pakistan and returned.

In 1989, Manzoor was in 11th standard. My younger brother, Sajad alias Vicky was two years younger. I was in 4th / 5th class. Sajad was also taken by Manzoor. Sajad's friends had joined Manzoor already. So they went with him to Pakistan. First group was 6 people and second was 15. Out of 21, there are only 3-4 alive now. Manzoor's close friend – Javed Choorisaz is alive today in this same mohalla. He went to jail as well. Then JKLF's base became big in Islamabad. They used to have less weapons. Then there was a bank robbery – Rs. 1 crore 16 lakhs of money was stolen. It was done as part of their work. Then they purchased weapons from Kupwara itself. Then they used to send weapons to Srinagar. Before this, Manzoor-ul-Islam had a group called HM with boys from the area and masjid. This is in 1989 itself. There was no HM as we know now and JKLF was hardly there.

There was an attack on Cheeni Chowk in 1990. It began as a JKLF attack. There was an encounter for two days. Then finally they got stuck in Cheeni Chowk. Then they escaped from the hill. 300 household were affected and burnt. So, JKLF used the robbery money and bought tin, rice etc and gave it to people. This was given to all the people whose houses were affected. Even houses were built with this. 80 percent of houses were built from this itself. Manzoor was involved in other actions as well.

He was arrested in January 1991. He was going in the evening to see Zahid Mukhtar [an artist]. On the way he was arrested. No weapons were found on him. Then there used to be a CRPF camp in police station and the Commanding Officer used to sit there. Manzoor was taken there. We did not know where he was for 1-2 months. Manzoor was taken to JIC Srinagar. I met him there once. He was then taken to other jails as well. At one point he was in Kathua jail. His boys went to meet him and he asked them to get him out. They went with weapons on a specific date to the hospital where Manzoor was being taken. Abdul Ahad Katoo and some boys went from here. They went to Jammu and then Kathua. They arrived at the hospital. There was a Sajid from Jammu in jail as well. He was 8 feet tall. Both were taken till the gate but then the local people stopped the car. All were then arrested and taken back to Sangroor jail. This was end 1992.

Meanwhile, my other brother Vicky was arrested already. Possibly in 1990. He was released in 1992. A few months he was at home. Police and CRPF used to come to this house often so we used to stay elsewhere at a friends place in Anchidora in Mohammad Abdullah Bhat's house. In beginning February 1993 there was a crackdown and RR of Khanabal camp arrested him. We were not allowed to meet him. Then we were told that he burnt himself and he is in Badamibagh cantonment. On 23 February his dead body was brought from Badamibagh. He had been completely burnt, except for his face. He was totally black. RR was responsible for

this. Manzoor was in Jammu central jail, Amphala then and he heard about this from the newspaper.

Manzoor was in jail till end 2002. After release, he joined Hashim Qureshi for a while to assist himself. I used to sit with Manzoor in the office of Hashim Querishi. That's when he used to narrate his poems and I used to write. Once he opened the dickey of his car and he showed me weapons – this is 2003. Then we came to Islamabad. He then sent me to Bijbehara with a sealed envelope to meet Divisional Commander Abid of HM who is now in Pakistan. I met Abid there. I was also asked to open an account for Manzoor through which he received money from General Abdullah from Pakistan. Once he asked me to make an email address, which I did. Then there was an email from Pakistan from General Abdullah. He had written that his mixer was sent in a courier at an office. I went there – a shop near Jehangir Chowk, Srinagar - and got the mixer. Manzoor said on the phone that there is a phone inside. I went to Balgarden, Srinagar and stopped the car and checked the mixer. Inside I found a large phone – the width of an A4 sheet. There was a large SIM inside. It was a satellite phone. I called a girlfriend. Then the phone got shut. I gave the phone to Manzoor. He had to go out and call. He used to talk to General Abdullah who in turn would then send money across. The money used to show as coming from Islamabad. The money used to come from HM as well for the martyrs – he used to give money and get it signed. The receipts I used to then scan and then email them to Salahuddin. They used to ask him to go there but he didn't want to leave.

PDP was being formed in those days. Hussain Katpori, State Vice President of PDP today, asked Manzoor to join. I advised him that whether he joins or not he should not offend him. Katpori's house was a JKLF hideout. But he didn't want to join. This went on for a year. He started to build a new group, which was combination of HM and Jamiat. The raids again started at home. This was because by now he had also left Hashim Qureshi. Manzoor's group began working. But the identity of the boys doing actions from the group were not known. This continued till his death. Next to Shakti sweets in Srinagar is a shop called Lily crockeries. Sajad Lily was Manzoor's friend. His father was close to K. Rajendra [Present Chief of Jammu and Kashmir Police] of the police. Manzoor was caught at that shop. He was taken to Cargo. I was also picked up and detained. I was crying. I asked a sikh guard for a cigarette. He said he would bring me one. He said but why are you crying – your brother died like a lion here. Manzoor had told the IG Rajendra that you will kill me anyway so don't waste time. He was taken at night and killed in HMT in an encounter. Then there was an SP called Pani who tortured me. Prince Saleem was also brought there. We both were tortured together. He had links to Manzoor. K. Rajendra was also there. Ashiq Bukhari supported me when I was in Islamabad – when the IG had called asking for me. I was in the SP residence. IG wanted me also to be killed and I could hear this on the speaker-phone. Manzoor was killed on 17 August 2004. It is after this that I was taken to Cargo where I was kept for 20 days. I was subsequently released but the police regularly picks me up.

Our house was burnt in an encounter in 1995. I and friends of HM and Jamiat-ul-Mujahideen were here. Resh Khan, from HM, whose real name was Rafiq was one of them and he died. Sartaj, from Jamiat was also there. I was also with Jamiat, which I joined in 1994. In the encounter, besides my house, 40 other houses were burnt. This is in Mohalla Dangerpora, Islamabad. The following houses were burnt: Bashir Ahmad Bhat, Abdul Majid Bhat, Mohammad Khaliq Dar, Bilal Ahmad Gilkar, Irshad Ahmad Bhat, Bilal Ahmad Thokru, Mohammad Hussain Beg, Habibullah Bhat [Anjum Zamrooda's father], Gowhar Mir, Nissar Ahmad, Manzoor Ahmad Zargar, Ghulam Mohiuddin Zargar, Mukhtar Ahmad Gilkar, Moulvi Mohammad Yousuf, Gulzar Ahmad Beg, Abdul Majid Zargar, Ghulam Rasool Wagay, Abdul Rashid Wagay, Mohammad Ayoub Bhat, Mohammad Ashraf Gilkar, Abdul Rashid Najar. At this time we were staying in Anchidora, where we were since 1989. My father always stayed with a friend in Islamabad.

Once in 1992, when I was not a militant, I once was going with Mohammad Ramzan, alias Haider, JKLF, on a bike to Srinagar when in Pantha Chowk there was checking. I asked if everything was ok ahead. The BSF inspector caught me and took me to Hariniwas. I was there for 3 days and then given to control room and then released. Haider was released after 2 months. Later he joined HM and was killed in 1994/1995. I was in Srinagar till the release of Manzoor in 2002. I never came to Islamabad.

The bad Ikhwan group came at end 1995. MM was there from 1995. MM was run by Naba Azad and Ikhwan was run by Liyaqat. We first suspected the Ikhwan when they used to come out and roam around openly. In Kadipora there was an Ikhwan camp. The MM camp was in DFO, Khanabal. The other Ikhwan camp was in Janglat Mandi. The SOG was based in the Gujjar hostel.

Ikhwan was with the army. The MM was also with the army. They never worked together. They never fought. I was only here for 6 months in Islamabad. They had a fight with HM in the beginning. They used to say that they need cover of army only to fight HM. The Ikhwan was there from 1996 to 1998 in the open. Then it didn't really run. Things work well only in the beginning. Some people joined Ikhwan only because it was a fashion and they were greedy. People joined for money etc.

I was with Sajad Kanue's Ikhwan in 1994-1995. But that was the proper Ikhwan. Then I ran away with Showkat Ahmad in 1995 end. Then there were less militants anyway. Shabir Ahmad Badoori, Showkat, Noman [real name Yasir] and me were together. We left for Srinagar. After that I returned in 2000. When I was with Ikhwan, I was at the Kadipora camp. In Islamabad

there were three Ikhwan places: Kadipora, Janglatmandi and Kochak building for families. MM families lived in Mehendi Kadal.

In 1996, beginning, there was an incident where three of us with Ikhwan were arrested by the BSF but then released soon enough. In February/March 1996, Shabir Badoori asked me to leave with him. He asked me to run. He gave me Rs. 7000. I went to Jammu and got admission for computer hardware and did it for two years there. I left on 16 March.

Idrees Ahmad Baba was running the Ikhwan. Others like that were: Ghulam Nabi CID, Ghulam Rasool Moori alias Radio world, Bushan Bindroo [alias Bushanlal], Mohammad Yousuf Dar from Sarnal, Bashir Dada and Zafar Salati. They used to provide finances but also go to the camps. Zafar Salati and Bashir Dada were ahead in the sense that if someone was arrested you had to approach them to get them out.

The Ikhwan was under the Khanabal army camp. 5-8 of the Ikhwan are now with the TA. The army never gave money to the Ikhwan. There was no salary etc. But, weapons were given. This is when I was there. Later they used to give Rs. 2500. In the beginning the Ikhwan used to take money from where they wanted to. The ammunition was coming from camp. I never saw the ammunitions coming in myself, as Tahir and Liyaqat used to go to the Khanabal camp. Others could not go there. Only people like Bashir Ahmad Malik alias Hamid, Nannaji and of course Tahir and Liyaqat could go. BSF just left the Ikhwan alone. They couldn't give orders to Ikhwan. Even SP of the police could not.

I heard that Qazi Nissar started Ikhwan. He had a pistol. We stole his pistol once. Then the army also took us and asked us why we took the pistol. Major Yousuf was there then. This happened in1993. We asked Safdar to get the pistol from Qazi Nissar's house. Then we got caught in the chowk by Major Yousuf i.e. Safdar and me. We were kept in Khanabal camp for a few days and then JIC. This is the second time I was arrested. The army came on a raid to the house. The gun was returned. Anyway, some people supported Ikhwan because they thought the HM killed Qazi Nissar.

Once, I went and saw Yasin Malik and asked to be introduced to Harkat. This is 1995 or 1996. He said kill Tahir, Liyaqat and Nannaji. I agreed. I took two boys – Latief alias Junaid from Danter and Tikka from Malpora. They were in original Ikhwan as well. The plan was that these people – whom we had to kill - would leave in a gypsy [a green one] as they used to. They always used to leave together in those days. The plan was to stay in Dangerpora and ask them to stop and they would stop. In the morning, before the plan could take shape, Liyaqat called me and told me about the plan. He knew everything. Tikka was basically the informer. But I handled the situation that day by talking myself out of it. 10-15 days later I took 30 boys and ran. We took guns. The full Kadipora camp was emptied. Only Tahir, Liyaqat and Nanna were left. We were in Khanabal. We were now stuck. Three days had passed. We were looking for a different militant group contact. I said I was going to Srinagar. There was a boy in Gur called Humayun. I asked the other boys to tell the leadership that the reason they ran was because of Humayun. That's how they managed. But they were also worried about me. Then Shakeel Bakshi kept me in a shop in Srinagar. This was in the mini bus adda near Maisuma in a photocopy shop. I used to just be in Srinagar then.

Regarding allegations against me I can say this. Showkat Shardar was killed in torture. Tahir had sent for him. He was then tortured. He was not meant to be killed. His brother Farhat was a friend of mine. I still am good friend of his. I was not involved in the killing. Similarly, Captain Kundal and Bhartan of Khanabal camp were responsible for the death of Mohammad Ashraf Baba. Javed Ahmad Pandit was commander of Ikhwan for Anchidora and he was resident there and neighbor of Mohammad Ashraf Baba and he brought him out. He was brought on the orders of Kundal and Bhartan. I am unsure where he was killed though. Javed Ahmad Kotwal alias Javed Denny was active but then he surrendered. Sartaj was with me and said we should kill him. This was after January 1995. I said he has two children, shoot him in the leg. We were sitting on the bund. When Sartaj fired, Javed had his child with him. He put her down and caught Sartaj's gun. He pulled the trigger and it went into his side of body.

I used to keep Javed Dabrun [Harkat Commander] with me when he visited. So, yes, I was close to Harkat as well. This is when I was with Ikhwan. Once, in 1995, I showed him the whole High Ground camp. No one checked him because he was with me.

In 1997 – I put in an apology letter in various masjids – that if I have harmed anyone and if anyone has a problem with me, please pardon me. The first day that I worked with Ikhwan I felt I did wrong. Even today I thought I did wrong. If I had not remained for a few days with Ikhwan I would not have been alive. I was also young then. Harkat boys used to also come and stay with us. They didn't say anything. They, like us, thought we were just fighting HM. I used to give Sartaj some ammunitions as well. I was with Ikhwan for a year. I regret beating people here. I don't regret the deaths because when my brother was arrested my sister was divorced and the HM people came and did raids etc. This was 1993 or so.

I was also vulnerable with no one at home. But, Manzoor sahib used to curse me for what I was doing.

8. Zafar Salati, Businessman, resident of Islamabad

In 1990 I had a factory and I used to make footwear. I had employees from outside. I had a person called Mumtaz working for me. Others had left but he remained. I found out that Mumtaz, from Calcutta, had joined a militant group. I did accounts with him and asked him to head back. He left but didn't leave

Kashmir. He was with Hizbullah. I got a letter asking me to come to a place. The letter said if I did not go to Mohammad Maqbool's shop at Chee I would meet the fate of "Indian agents". I reached before time itself. I asked Maqbool about the people who signed the letter. He asked me to wait. I wrote a few lines on paper and left it there saying I had come but no one was there. Then I got another letter. I had an office at Lal Chowk, Islamabad [my shop was called College Boot House]. Then some people came to my shop but I didn't give money. Then I was told that the person who had come for donation had been killed on his way back. I was being blamed for this. Bashir Dada helped me reconcile this issue with Firdousi from Chee who had sent the letter. This Mumtaz once did a firing at GPO and an artist of ours died. The firing was done on GPO where the CRPF was. Then they attacked the whole mohalla. Irshad Qasit, the artist, was caught there. This was in 1992/1993. Hizbullah then called me. I told them that Mumtaz was brought by me from Calcutta. I said I did not know who he worked for there. Why did they trust him more than me, I asked them. But Mumtaz talked like he was from Pakistan, he also looked like that. So people trusted him. He was then killed in Sissan, Dialgam. Prior to coming here he had a history outside. He had shown a gun in court and he was kept in jail because of that. So he preferred to continue in Kashmir because of the respect he got, weapons etc.

Once Bashir Dada was called and asked to edit a film. I was also there. We didn't want to go and tried not to go. Finally we decided to go. At Wanpoh, there was a place with no bridge. There were shikaras to step over. At the end they asked for money for the shikaras. Bashir Dada refused. He said if foreigners had made it they would have apologized for the inconvenience. Then they took us in a tonga. Then at the house they showed us a film. Bashir Dada was cursing the person who made the film and I was requesting him not to say all this. It was a film by militants. They had shots of interrogation. They asked us to stay the night. But we were scared in case there was a raid and we excused ourselves. Then they picked up phones and tried to communicate to our families that we were staying but we said please do not. We finally stayed the night.

I know Dr. Ghulam Qadir Reshi who was killed. He was a very good doctor and good man. He was a doctor in Pahalgam and he headed there. Because of the people going there including army he became friends with them as well. He used to try to get people released as well. So people thought maybe he was connected with military. One day he was kidnapped, and the next day his body was found at general bus stand – outside Good Eve hotel. His hands and legs were tied. He was based in Bijbehara. His wife was also there. Someone had said that a militant needed his help. His wife tried to stop him. He was then killed. It was Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen who killed him. This was before the time it became bad Ikhwan. For example, there was a doctor from Dialgam was killed by Setha Gujjar once they were clearly government Ikhwan.

I was probably the first to find out about government gunmen sometime after 1993. At this time Qazi Nissar was still alive. MM took my brother, Rayees Ahmad, to Prem Nath's house [who was killed by JKLF people]. I was called there. They asked for boots. This was around 5/6 in the evening. Mushtaq Laiguru, Pin Jinn, Yousuf of the police from Mattan were there. I saw my brother. He said don't leave me here. He was crying and he was my small brother. They asked for shoes. I told them to come and take shoes. As I was going out and the gate opened and an army car came in. I don't know where the army men went. That's when I realized that the army was linked.

Once DSP Chauhan and others attacked me. It was 1998/1999. That was the time they came to my house. It was 1:30/2 at night. They called me by my name. I was staying on the Anchidora road. They were calling me out. My family members got up. I thought there were two-four people and they were moving outside. My brother and others were at my home too. I picked up the phone, opened the diary, and called DSP Chauhan. I said some people are calling me out. He said no problem, don't open the door. Then everything was quiet. Then I heard a wireless system noise. I again called DSP Chauhan. He said it's our man Abdul Aziz who was SHO of Sherbagh police station. So, I opened the door. He was in civil dress with gun. I then got him to talk to DSP Chauhan. Then they left. After half an hour I heard that Iqbal Wani was killed. I don't know who those people were. But I think they came to attack me and then got Iqbal Wani.

There is another incident with Liyaqat Ali Khan and my Maruti Zen car. He once came to my office asked for the car. I gave it but he didn't give it back. A few days later I saw him in the car. I stopped him and asked for the car. He got down with a gun and shouted. I threatened him with an FIR. I then went to General Kaushal at Victor Force at Awantipora. I complained to him. He told me that Liyaqat had come with the car there just that morning. I said he is asking for Rs. 2 lakhs to return the car. He said you go and by four the car will be there. He said whenever we want we can end these people's lives. He said they were living a lease life. By 3 pm Liyaqat came and gave the car and keys back. He asked me how I knew the General. I said I knew him. I had gone to Victor Force directly because they controlled the Ikhwan. Similarly, when we did not want Bashir Dada to fight elections even then we went to meet General Choudhary as we knew they were in charge. In fact, before this car incident I had met General Kaushal at the residence of Asgar Samoon. So I knew him.

9. Mushtaq Zargar, resident of Islamabad

I went in 1988 to Pakistan. Ishfaq Majeed, Hamid Sheikh came in an ambassador to my place. I had a new shop at Achabal. I was a salesman there. I sat there for 10 minutes. Then the police came looking for me because of this visit. I jumped and ran away. They came to the shop. They took my father. It was the

Achabal police station. I was with People's League then. The police were asking for weapons. That was the last time I was at home. Then I went to Pakistan. We returned in 6-7 months.

The second time I went across was in March 1989. I returned in 1989 itself – maybe six months later. This was done more properly after discussions with Shabir Shah etc. Mushtaq Latram was the person who sent us across. Then we formed MJF.

I returned before winter. I remained underground in Islamabad.

In 1989, the position of the army was that the Khanabal army camp had the jurisdiction. There was also an interrogation centre at the gujjar/bakarwal hostel aside from the camp. The army had more of a role in Islamabad than the CRPF.

I was arrested before this as well. I was with Islami Jamiat Tulaba. I was arrested in 1987 for example. Mukhtar Waza, Shabir Shah and People's League were active and I was with them too. It was in this context that I was arrested. Once there was a big gathering in 1987 and I got arrested for the first time. The police arrested me. The SHO then was Ibrahim Khoda. He picked me and then gave me to Muneer Khan, also in the police. This was in police lines, Islamabad. Muneer Khan beat me a lot. There was a rubber band with nails, which they also used. Muneer Khan was himself doing this. SP Javed Makhdoomi was also sitting right there but the SHO Ibrahim had been sent away. I was kept inside under PSA for 7-8 months. I was being targeted for opposing drinking and gambling. We also had beaten some communists. Pinna Khan, Showkat Shardar, Sajad Kanue were also there when we beat those communists. Showkat Ahmad Shardar stayed in Kadipora and he was killed by Ikhwan later.

After my second return from Pakistan I was active for 8-9 months and then got arrested in Udhampur, a place called Tikri. Subseqently I was sent to a Coimbatore jail. I was arrested carrying a letter for someone. I was taken to the JIC at Jammu and tortured. I was tortured by a person called Thapa from CIK. SP Illango was also there, as was DIG Jammu. The interrogation went on for 3-4 days. But I didn't reveal anything. I kept saying that I wasn't Mushtaq Latram who they thought I was. I was breaking a bit. Meanwhile, they had caught Adv. Fayaz Ahmed Saudagar [present district president, Islamabad Bar Association] and others at the border. They revealed that I had sent them. The torture was severe. They didn't let me sleep. They used to beat me. They used to make me naked and beat me. Electric shocks also were administered. Illango was also in the room administering torture.

I was in Coimbatore jail for one and a half years. Coimbatore jail had cells. Each cell had a bed, a pot and glass. We were naked. We used to be taken naked to the bathroom. It was like this for ten days. There were 30 Kashmiris. There was access after every few cells. So there were limited conversations as we were walking. The first ten days were naked. We stayed there for one and a half years. Then they also gave a Dunlop and sheets. Once we asked for some air because of heat. They said they had to seek permission from the central government. They gave a fan with feathers. I got ill very badly. Then I was taken away from there. There was no other torture. They used to give some tablets some ten days later there itself. A doctor would come and do a basic examination. When I got very sick I was taken to a hospital in Coimbatore for a few days and then I was brought to Kot Bhalwal. I was there for one or two months and then I was taken to a Jammu jail. In Kot Bhalwal there were 300 people. From there I was brought to a place at old airport road, Srinagar. I was kept in a room there. There were 30–40 of us in a room. Prince Saleem from downtown Srinagar was also there. I was released from there.

It was 1992 when I was released. I then got more active. After 10 days at home people came to meet me. But after a while I felt things were not going well as militants were getting into other issues. So I stayed more low key. The goods of the shop were no longer there. My house had been broken by SHO Sajad from Achabal in 1988 as well. After militancy they used to do raids. For example, my brother's daughter, Sanya, was around 5 years old. They picked her up and threw her in a ditch. This was when they were looking for me. It was a public latrine pit. She was luckily saved. My brother then separated from us. He told the police this as well. My father, Ghulam Mohammad Zargar, was beaten by Ibrahim Khoda. He tortured my father 2-3 times. He was at Sadar police station then. This was when I was underground. Police used to come from different places. Army never did the raids then. Masrat and Jabeen my sisters were also tortured. My brother Shakeel was also tortured. He had been kept shut in the police station as well. Ibrahim Khoda just beat people and did not go beyond that.

I restarted my shop near Hanfi School at Lal Chowk, Islamabad. Then things were normal for two months. Then suddenly the army came to the shop. They asked about the rates for the textile. But I thought something was wrong. Then they asked me to put my hands up and took me in. This was 1992. I was taken to Khanabal. I was tortured almost till my death. At that point the shopkeepers did a big hartal. If I had been picked up in the evening, and not at 12/1, I might have died. There were many army men. They were asking for weapons. They said we know you have weapons. I was released after 3 days. I was put in a room. Vicky had also been picked up and was there. It was on a bank dacoity case. This was done by Vicky and Manzoor-ul-Islam, his brother.

Setha Gujar also used to harass me. Once he came and put me into a car. But Shaheen, my wife, stopped them. She caught the gun and said leave him. Shaheen thought he was going to do something. Shaheen was at the shop by chance. They actually also did respect Shaheen's father. They kept saying nothing will

happen. Then shopkeepers also came and intervened.

I can tell you about the killing of Showkat Shardar: Tahir and Liyaqat had sent for him for just 10 minutes. He was not a militant. Showkat was tortured a lot. His body was completely tortured. Cigarette burning marks were on his body. His hands had marks of tied ropes. Even his feet had the same marks. He was a sympathizer of the movement but he did not pick up a gun. He talked against crimes when they occurred. He was with People's League. This was on 28 July 1995. Tahir and also Babloo were involved in his killing. This happened at the Janglatmandi Ikhwan camp. Tahir and Babloo came to his house looking for him. We thought it was because he was sympathetic to the movement. So he hid himself. But people told him not to be scared. His uncle went to the Janglatmandi camp. There was a person there who worked as a mediator. His name was Mohammad Sidiq Bichoo. He was a tailor and not actually an Ikhwani. But he could talk to the Ikhwanis. The mediator reassured the uncle. Showkat did not believe the mediator. He said he would be killed. But everyone persuaded him. Four people went with him including his uncle. They told these people to leave him there. They refused and said they would wait. But they were asked to leave. Ikhwanis said they would leave him back themselves. Everyone was waiting for him to return. Many relatives were waiting at his house for him. But he was not sent back. The elders went back to the camp and they were told he was not there. But the neighbors said they could hear his screams and he should be rescued as soon as possible. Many women then went and protested outside. Setha Gujar was there and he said the victim was fine. Tahir was also there. Liyaqat may not have been seen there but he was generally the boss and he stayed behind the scenes. He would meet people at the Khanabal army camp. In fact, Showkat had died that same evening. But the Ikhwanis said he had been taken somewhere. But he had died that night. The body was brought at night at 12. His father had cancer then. He died about a year later.

There were other killings as well. Bashir Ahmad Shikari was also killed. He was kidnapped from his house.

There was a person called Ashraf Sahib who ran a darsghah. He wanted to have a religious gathering. He had brought books as well. But then a few days later the Ikhwanis raided his house and he had to run away. Two days later Ashraf Sahib who had small children came home. As he came home, Babloo arrived and took him. This was at night. In the morning his body with a few bullet wounds was sent back.

Javed Ahmad Kotwal alias Javed Denny, from Kotwal Mohalla, was a close associate of People's League and he was not a militant. He was killed in a Galli near his house. Babloo shot him. It was in 1994-1995.

Manzoor Ahmad Shaksaz, was a daily wage employee at Forest Department, resident of Achabal. He was killed by Azad's MM people. He was not a militant. They said he worked in the forest department and that's where the militants come from and so they wanted information. They tortured and killed him.

Muzaffar Ahmad Sofi, my brother and adopted by Nazir Ahmad Sofi, Shaheen's uncle, was with Al-Umar. He was taken to the government quarters and tortured. He was tortured by Tahir and Setha Gujjar. But, Manzoor-ul-Islam was his friend, and he intervened and that's why he was released.

Showkat Ahmad, resident of Chee village was killed by Ikhwan as well.

Mohammad Yousuf Sofi and Ghulam Nabi Sofi, both bakers, were killed because their brother was with Jamaat-e-Islami – Ghulam Mohammad Sofi. MM people of Naba Azad killed them.

Shabir Shah's father [who is also Shaheen's grandfather] was killed as well and Shaheen was a witness to it. Those days Shabir Shah was underground. This was in ending 1989. Shaheen's father Syed Sahib was an MLA and was in Jammu. Shaheen was with her grandfather and grandmother. Stone pelting began outside and the police came and they started beating people. They caught a boy, removed his clothes and so Shaheen's grandfather went out and intervened. They then said it was happening because of Shabir Shah and they asked for him. Then a jeep came and they dragged him inside. They had taken him to the Khanabal police lines. By the evening they were saying he would return. They beat him and he had brain hemorrhage and he died there. Then a phone call came saying go to Islamabad district hospital at Sher Bagh. At the hospital he was in coma. The police asked the doctors and they said he is dead. The time from being arrested to being brought to hospital was four hours. He was brought at about 6. He was actually sort of dead by then itself. I don't think there was a case filed. The person who took him was staying in Mattan Adda. He is alive but has cancer now.

10. Bashir Ahmad Dada, Artist, resident of Islamabad and Ikhwan electoral candidate in 1996 elections.

I was trapped by the Ikhwan of Anantnag and the then Hizbullah chief Shahidul Islam and authorities of Doordarshan Srinagar who were the main persons responsible to compel me contesting elections in 1996. I came to know after elections when I was staying in Kama Hotel Karol Bagh New Delhi where a theatre personality Nisar Naseem resident of Safapora confessed that everything was planned at Kuka Parray's house against me. He said that he [Nisar] also suggested my name as a candidate of assembly constituency of Anantnag.

My story begins in some sense with the then director of Doordarshan Farooq Nazki and his employees and then continues with my experience with the Ikhwan

who made me stand for elections in Anantnag.
My, and my other senior artists', bad days started from 1990 when commissioning of programmes was introduced to promote art and artists of Kashmir but Director Farooq Nazki ignored all the senior artists and brought a group from different fields like a petrol pump owner from Pulwama, a travel agent from Srinagar, a poultry farm owner, an employee of municipality, some smugglers and made them partners and allotted assignments worth crores to his favorite group. We the senior artists raised the voice and conveyed our grievance through our association but Mr. Nazki and his employees were busy in loot.

We were scared because of the killings of some artists. Still we spoke to Mr. Nazki many a time about the injustice done to the seniors who were the real contributors of Doordarshan from 1973 to 1990. Nazki Sahib assigned a few episodes to seniors while as his group partners were given hundreds of episodes. Mr. Nazki started to silence us by getting us harassed by some militant groups.
Almost all the seniors were often kidnapped and called to hideouts. The then Hizbullah chief Shahidul Islam was one among those who were interfering in the issues of senior artists and the Doordarshan authorities.

One female artist was living in a rented flat at Rajbagh. Shahidul Islam had his hide out at her flat. Mr. Nazki favored that female artist a lot by giving her assignments, I feel, just to please Shahidul Islam. Mr. Nazki and his sub ordinates were accommodating some close associates of Kuka Parray. We knew it but did not compromise with the wrong policies of Mr. Nazki and his subordinates who started fixing us by different means and I was mainly targeted.

Situation turned more ugly for me when I was staying at Dak Banglow Jammu in 1994-95 when I came to know that my serial that I had submitted for Doordarshan Srinagar is going to be shot at Jammu and that assignment has been given to a petrol pump owner who along with producer Naseem Khan with crew and cast had come to start shooting from the next day. I sent them a message not to use my script and if at all they intend to do that serial they should assign it to any senior artist not a street hawker or a petrol pump owner. Same evening Mr. Nazki called me to his VIP Suite at Dak Banglow Jammu where he tried to convince me but I protested and took my script back. I warned him to stop the injustice. I was not expecting what next Mr. Nazki has planned to silence our senior group.

I and other senior artists like Mr. G.M. Wani and Meraj ud din were cast as actors in a serial which was scheduled to be shot at Noida New Delhi. Nazki Sahib's son-in-law Mr. Parvaiz Bukhari was the director and Cameraman of that serial. The serial entitled RIKIN was assigned to one of the group partners of Mr. Nazki. I, Mr. G M Wani, Meraj ud din went to Noida, New Delhi where other artists including the female artist of Rajbagh were already present.We didn't know that I, Mr. Wani and Meraj ud din were cast under a plan to fix us. We stayed there for one month. My character in the serial was very interesting. It was of a poor peon who begs, steals and borrows money to get drunk all the time. My role was liked very much by cameraman, Director and the whole cast and crew but unfortunately on our return from Delhi to Kashmir Shahidul Islam published very defaming content in the leading papers like Greater Kashmir Al-Safa, by portraying many drunk-scenes of my serial as a reality.

I was called by Shahidul Islam to his hideout at Rajbagh along with one of my cousins who in fact told me that he is close to Shahidul Islam and my friend Zaffar Salati also accompanied me. There was a bunker at the gate of Shahidul Islam's hideout. I and my cousin entered and Shahidul Islam scolded me for defaming the entire community. He was saying offensive things to me. I was shocked about who I was talking to. I even told him that I could drink elsewhere and I would not be in a Naallah. It was obviously a character in the serial. He was refusing to listen to me. My younger relative said to him that at least serve us tea. I then saw a magazine of Rashtriya Sahara. Shahid had gone to make tea. I was very scared. In that magazine there was a picture of Shahid and his father. Shahid came in and said I don't know what journalists are doing they took some interview of my unconscious father. They made him say things against Pakistan. I used this as it raised my confidence. I asked can you call your father first. I then asked him why he had called me. He said he wanted to know the truth. I said you should have found out first and then got it published against me in the paper. He said you are a high profile artist. You are a writer. Then Shahid said that that I had written a poem where I had saluted the Indian forces. I asked him where this was written. I had in fact written a poem in an Islamabad Magazine SHAN. I was on a bus from Srinagar to Islamabad. There people asked me about the rapes in Bijbehara. This was in 1993. The forces in Bijbehara had Raksha bandans on. So I wrote sarcastic poem about this. This poem had paid tribute to the forces sarcastically. Then I left the hideout. Shahid also asked me to shut the association of senior artists of Doordarshan that I had formed which was against the authorities of Doordarshan. Our opposition was just that the distribution of work was wrong as I have described above.

From this point on, things got worse and worse. Some seniors were called to different hideouts by different outfits. I remember one incident when the same members of association were called by an outfit Jehad Force to Kashmir University campus. Senior artist Mr. Wani sent me a message to come down to Srinagar as we have been called by the Jehad force. I denied but Mr. Wani explained to me the intensity of that matter. I came down to Srinagar to be present but we could get rid of the trauma because of the incident of Dargah Siege took place and we the targeted seniors were saved.

There are such many cases how we were humiliated by some outfits. The next day, after I was interrogated by Shahidul Islam at his Rajbagh hideout, I was in Anantnag when I was stopped by an Ikhwani called Babloo at Matan Chowk Anantnag. He came with a few boys and called me. They were all small. He asked me what I had said to Farooq Nazki. I had heard about Babloo and his brother Manzoor ul Islam and another brother Vicky. Those all were militants. They had a brother in-law who, with his friends, had made a film.
Everybody in the town had a question in mind that where from the money came that was invested on making a Tele Film. It was the gossip of the town that Rs. 3 crore that were looted from J&K bank Anantnag were distributed among those who looted the bank. One among was Manzoor ul Islam. Out of that, some amount was invested by Manzoor ul Islam's Brother-in-law. How far that was correct I didn't know but I was threatened by Babloo in front of a crowd for opposing the telecast of that film before director Nazki Sahib, by saying that I have told Nazki sahib that the film should not be telecast for it had been made with the stolen money. Babloo created a big scene and threatened that I will see to you. Actually Farooq Nazki told them that there was a procedure but he also told them that Bashir Dada and his association has a problem with them. He used me and my association as an excuse. Babloo was very dangerous. In the evening my friend Zaffar Salati came to my house and asked why I had fought with Babloo. Babloo had planned to kill me. But other people in Ikhwan had counseled him against killing me. Zaffar was telling me all this. Babloo told Zaffar Salati that he is going to join Harkat-ul-Ansar because the Ikhwan does not want him to do what he wants to i.e. kill me. Zaffar organized a meeting with Babloo where I apologized to Babloo and I told Babloo that I had not said anything to Nazki.

Two to three days later, there was another incident with Ikhwan. A Kashmiri Pandit woman – Dulari Handoo - who is like my sister gave her newly constructed house [at Heewan Cinema, Ashajipora] to me after she had left Islamabad. I don't know how Ikhwan knew it. They then took over that house. The Ikhwan kept their family there. I went there and a girl came out. I said this is my house. She said take your shoes off first. I said ok stay but don't say its your house. I then left. The next day, I shifted to Shabir Shahs house in Kadipora which I had purchased. Dulari Handoo sent me a message from Delhi. She had heard about the whole incident. She advised me not to have confrontation with anyone on account of that house. She told me to burn her house and to save my life.

At that time, my elder brother Mohammad Saleem Dada was taken away by the BSF at Khanabal. So I left my home to find him. I met Mohammad Shafi Sofi in MM – in the forest office in Khanabal where their camp was. I went to him and talked about my brother being taken away by BSF. He told me that they wanted to help but they couldn't. He said that the government doesn't trust us even. He said I should talk to Ikhwan, specifically Liyaqat. So I went to see Liyaqat who was staying in flats in Khanabal colony. Liyaqat came out and was happy to see me. He called his mother out and she hugged me. Then tea was brought out etc. I told him about my brother. He took me to see J.P. Singh who was in the SOG. He was from Tral. J.P. Singh said we must help Bashir Dada. He was having a drink. He offered me a drink. J.P. Singh called someone called Manoj and told him to help. He said you are an art lover so help my artist friend. I was asked to go in the morning to Manoj.

Next morning, I went to Manoj at Khanabal petrol pump, where there may have been a CRPF camp [unsure if this was CRPF or SOG]. The petrol pump was run by Bhushanlal. He was an employee. Manoj said you speak well you should do politics. He said you have come for your brother. He said he is in Jamaat. I said no. Manoj said he is. He said he has a shop. I said yes. Manoj then said that in the evening young people used to go and get guns from my brother and use them in the night and return in the morning. I said my brother is in the education department and about to retire. He would not do such things. Manoj then removed a paper. He asked can you recognize the handwriting in urdu. It was my brother's handwriting. All that Manoj had alleged about my brother was written there. I asked if he was alive. Manoj said yes. I asked if I could meet him. I was taken. There was a corridor and I saw him there. I asked him how he was. He was responding in urdu and very loudly. He was saying it loudly so that everyone would hear. He was praising them. He wasn't able to stand. He was not talking in Kashmiri. Manoj said I want to help you. He said you have to help by getting something from court. I got something from court. The paper from court wasn't strong. Then he was released. My brother's name is Mohammad Salim Dada.

A few days later, this was still in the year 1995, Liyaqat met at old Matam Chowk he stepped out. I thanked him. This was 31 December. I had earlier sent him a New Year greeting. He stepped out and thanked me for it. He said he is going to Delhi. Liyaqat said we have given your name for the coming elections. I said I will help you as you helped me. But you contest. But he left.

Sometime later I spoke to Tahir about the house of the Kashmiri Pandit lady. There is a place called Kanil Mohalla where Tahir used to stay next to the Ikhwan camp. Tahir told me that Liyaqat had spoken to him and to go to the house and take it back. I went but they were rude. Liyaqat returned and said I wanted to help you. Liyaqat called Setha and Tahir and they started to talk. Bushanlal had also been called. Tahir accused me of saying I have said to the family who was staying in Dulari Handoo's house that Ikhwans are dogs and that I was not scared of Ikhwani. I denied having said anything. They said the witness was the chief of

Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen's brother. He had said this. He said he was in the bathroom and heard it, which was definitely untrue. So then I and Zafar went to meet the witness. He maintained that I had said this. I got very angry. Then I apologized to Liyaqat and I had no option but to accept it that I said this.

There was a person called Mohammad Yousuf Dar, who was a clerk in education department and a colleague of my elder brother Mohammad Saleem Dada. He had allegedly got 200 people into the department on migrant vacancies. Mohammad Yousuf Dar was from Sarnal. He died of heart attack later. He had joined Ikhwan. He was sent on behalf of Liyaqat. Dar came and said that they want you to fight elections. If you don't they will kill your family. I said how can I fight elections. Dar told Zafar that they are going to kill my brother; my nephew. Then Liyaqat said the alternative was to convince the "boss". The boss was GOC in Awantipora – General Choudhary. I met Gen. Choudhary who politely said join us. But, then he said if you don't want to join don't join. He told them not to trouble me. Liyaqat and others were also there. We actually went there in Liyaqat's gypsy. There was checking of the gypsy. Not sure who the contact point was inside. Later I found out that there was a Christian Captain called Clifton at Victor Force. Finally Dar conveyed me that if you don't accept that task Ikhwan won't leave you. Dar said my family would be killed like the doctor of Dialgam.

In these days I was trying to get my passport and I had got an offer from Sharjah but I could not go because I could not receive my passport for the reason of delay in post office services.

In my neighborhood there was a person called Raju who had no link with any party but was a one man army who used to have hideout in Islamabad [Chee Village]. I was at Zafar sahab's footwear shop and I had been given a deadline to confirm my candidature for the elections. Liyaqat was to come to the shop. Outside I saw Ikhwanis dancing. Zafar told me that Raju had been killed in Chee Village by Ikhwan. He told me that the killing happened and the body was thrown near my house at Syed Sahib Kadipora. I went there. We have the same compound. I went and saw the body there. I saw an army officer there giving respect to Raju's dead body by putting down his cap. Raju had earlier killed an Ikhwani named KK and his younger brother Rinku. People were outside and the Ikhwan was inside the compound. The Ikhwan was screaming they would feed the body to dogs. The smaller level Ikhwan were there. I told them that Raju must have a proper burial. I told them that he is dead and now he is no longer an enemy. One Ikhwani Jehangir came and intervened and scolded the Ikhwan. So we buried the body. My cousin Mohammad Yaseen was also there. Raju's two relatives were also there for the burial. We buried Raju behind his house. In the evening Liyaqat called. A car was sent for me. Liyaqat said Choudhary praised you a lot. Liyaqat said we follow everything you say but you have to agree. I had by then prematurely retired from the education department. Hurriyat had called for a long hartal. I told Liyaqat that I can contest election but I have a problem with my premature retirement paper work. I said I can't say no, but this is the problem. Things were getting uncertain right till the last day. I hoped to keep things uncertain till the dealing passed and I would then be free.

On the last day of filing nomination papers they said one of their people would come with me to the education department office. When we went to the office of Directorate of School to process my premature retirement papers, on the last day of form filling for elections, I tried acting and insisted we knock on the closed door. I kept pushing things hoping that would help later when I couldn't get my paper work. But, a new file was made for me through the Governor. There in the secretariat people told me that they had to work the whole night. So, even my premature retirement papers were done just to get me ready for elections.

I was disappointed and we reached Khanabal for filling the form. I saw Zafar and he said I had escaped. He said my name was not on the voter list and so I could not contest. Some people – other candidates - were going to raise objections. Form had not been filled yet. I was on the way to submit the form. Inside there was the Deputy Commissioner along with Seth Gujjar. Setha shouted at Safdar Beigh and others who raised objections against me saying that I am a government employee. Zafar told Safdar in his ear that the real objection should be that I am not on voting list. Safdar said Mehboob Beg would raise it. Safdar was focusing on the government employee issue. But then Setha intervened and the DC then wrote my name with a ball pen in the voter list. So I then filed the form.

I was feeling horrible within myself. I saw the lady who with her family was putting Kashmiri Pandit house came with the keys. They gave me the keys and they had vacated. There were some persons known to me and some fans of mine outside the nomination filing centre at degree college Anantnag. They because of the tremendous fear tried to avoid me. I could read their faces. They were feeling ashamed of me and their heads were down for contesting on the directive of Ikhwan.

I was not in a position to explain the story behind my contesting election. A flat was allotted to me that I had to share with National Conference Candidate Safdar Beigh. I went to the flat and I saw one of my old friends - tailor master Mohammad Sidique Parray. He entered and told me that he wants to support me during elections as he is a great admirer of mine. I told him to stay away but I could not tell him openly which situation I am trapped in. He stayed with me and slowly he got close to Ikhwan. He started taking small contracts which I came to know after elections.

In the beginning of election campaign there was a meeting between Mohammad Shafi Misgar [JKLF]

and Liyaqat at my Kadipora house sharp at 11 p.m. Mr. Mohammad Shafi Misger told Liyaqat that I know how you got Bashir Dada to stand in the election but I won't vote. He said he wanted a platform to be able to have freedom of speech which they had been denied by Ikhwani. This was how they dealt with the Ikhwan.

During elections, when I used to give speeches, the Ikhwan used to get crowds outside. Once in Dantar an old lady hugged me. She said which horrible people are you with. She said this in front of Liyaqat and other Ikhwanis. During my speech I used to salute the Shaheed. Once, Chaman Lal Gupta from BJP was to come to Banihal. I was told to meet him there. I met him there and used the word Shaheed there as well in a speech. I used to mention that the violations should end. When Chamanlal Gupta left Liyaqat told me in anger that I should not use the word Shaheed for dead young boys. I said I will speak to the General. Even Liyaqat told me that General Choudhary was not happy with me using that word but when I met the General he did not say anything. I had realized by then that the Ikhwan people were weak. I wished I had not been scared of them earlier. I told Liyaqat that he is not my boss. Bushanlal even told Liyaqat that Dar had scared me with threats on behalf of Liyaqat.

Another interesting incident was after elections when once senior artist G.M. Wani, Mohammad Amin Bhat from Baramulla, one cameraman Khan came to my house in Islamabad. They had to shoot the Shrine Reshi Sahib for a documentary. But Setha had gone and insisted that his interview be taken as he has killed 50 people so far. They got scared and came to house without shooting and narrated the whole story to me. So I called a meeting and told Liyaqat to call Setha. I told Liyaqat that he had promised to stop violations. I complained about Setha. I scolded Setha and I told him that one can kill you with one slap. The only power you have is a gun in your hand. This reached the Brigadier as well who had got shot in the leg. The Brigadier called me and praised me for my poetry which he had heard from somewhere. Brigadier was at Khanabal and he called a meeting with SSP Ashkoor Wani , DSP R.K. Jala, Liyaqat, etc. Setha gave his side of the story. Jalla said that we should not discourage Ikhwan boys by criticizing them openly. I told them that Ikhwan was taking people for granted and trying to rule people. I shouted at Jalla. I hate guns I said. Liyaqat also shouted in favour of me. Brigadier then asked everyone to keep quiet. He said Dada should not have said I hate guns. He should have said I hate Indian gun, Pakistan gun and Ikhwan gun. He shouted at Jala as well. He said Dada is a poet. He asked everyone to leave and asked me to remain. He asked me if I was scared of Liyaqat, Setha etc. He said there is a person who is a big fan of yours – it is Kuka Parray. So far I had seen Kuka Parray once. This was after the elections had been lost. Incidentally Kuka Parray did not get along with Liyaqat. I had said a joke once and Kuka Parray asked me what I was saying. It was a joke that was subtly against the Ikhwan. Brigadier said that Kuka Parray had told him that he admired him and that Liyaqat had been bad with me. Brigadier said you go to Burn Hall where there is a building [known as Janpat hotel] and meet someone there. He said you are now free. If you feel any threat from Liyaqat I am sorry.

In a separate incident that I remember, a lady in a Burkha came to me in Khanabal. Captain Clifton was to come. My wife's cousin was with her. Clifton came. I said there is this lady with a problem here. The lady said my son was arrested. Clifton said do you want us to release him. She said no this is his work but as a mother I want to see him. She said he is my son and he would not spill innocent blood. Clifton asked who she was. She said she was Ahrar Sahib's [a Rukin e Jamaat] daughter from Shopian. Clifton said I salute this lady and such boys. He said I wish such true hearted ladies and their sons were convinced to come in the mainstream.

Once after elections in 1997 we went to see Guruswamy of BJP. This was in Kashmir. Guruswamy used to handle Kashmir affairs. Liyaqat arranged the meeting. Guruswamy was reasonable. I was introduced to Advani in Delhi, Sikandar Bhakt was also there. They said in future elections in Kashmir only three people will get mandate – Abdul Rashid Qabli, Deen Mohammad Cheeta and Bashir Dada. People who had picked gun for any side will not talk of mandate. Liyaqat called Khanabal and said that the office of BJP should be stopped and sign of BJP should be removed from office and Liyaqat and his other political members should resign. They were not happy about being sidelined while I was being promoted. I said I would not resign.

Another incident concerns Captain Clifton again and also how I tried to help. Ghulam Mohammad Shakir was in Jamaat. Ikhwan had troubled him. He was my neighbor and my teacher. Due to Ikhwan threat Ghulam Mohammad Shakir had left Anantnag and was residing somewhere in Srinagar. A neighbor told me that Shakir Sahib needs my help, he is a cancer patient and he is requesting my help and wants to die in his house. I told Liyaqat. Liyaqat said he could not help but I should talk to Captain Clifton. Captain Clifton agreed and he returned and he died in few days of natural causes.

Once, a day before elections, Setha once came to my flat and said tomorrow four people will die – Nabba Bhai Lala, Mehboob Begs person, Aziz Chhan National Conference worker, Jawad Rishi advocate – Safdar Begs person, and Salim Najar of National Conference. Setha was drunk. He said they will all remove the forms. He said tomorrow morning when people will see the dead bodies of four persons all the candidates will withdraw their forms and I would win uncontested. I complained to Liyaqat and he thrashed Setha in front of me.

Getting back to the election, my own family did not vote for me. I lost by 350 votes in Islamabad elections.

Safdar Beg won and Mehboob Beigh remained on number 3. Though he would have won but my contesting election caused him to lose. I am witness in Naibasti Anantnag that the votes were cast by Setha himself in my favor. I saw Setha there doing the same in town. He got the cleaners in a vehicle and got votes put by them in one booth to the next. Army did not use coercion in the town. But they were watching what was happening. They knew and saw what was happening.
But Liyaqat suddenly changed his mind. I don't know why. He sent his close Ikhwanis to other big voting centers and openly favored Safdar Beigh and did his best against me. I knew I was going to lose but I was not shocked by losing. Because to me the biggest shock was that I had hurt the sentiments of many families whose boys were killed by Ikhwanis. After elections I was never called to any meeting of the political leaders of Ikhwan backed Awami League.

Once in 1996, I was called to Circuit House where I was introduced to the political Advisors of Ikhwan-backed Awami league. There I came to know that Kuka Parray is the Supremo and all the advisors present in the meeting like Captain Tikoo, Gh. Hassan Reshi and some unknown faces were under Kuka Parray. I was surprised to see that Captain Tikoo and unknown persons were making a list of anti-national Police officers. There controversy started when Ghulam Hassan Reshi objected to including brilliant police officers like Javed Makhdoomi, Muneer Khan and other police officers from Kashmir. I don't know what happened to that list then. Close comrades of Kuka Parray were from Safapora and Hajan and even Riyaz Punjabi was also sympathizer of Ikhwan and its political party Awami league.
A month or so after election I shifted back to my Kadipora Residence. By then people of my locality gradually came to know that what compelled me to contest elections. My friends, relatives started coming to see me. Most of the people and political figures suggested me to withdraw security as every militant outfit knows the fact behind my contesting election but, nevertheless, I was scared of Ikhwan.

I don't remember the month exactly but I can recollect that Raju's only brother Ashfaq had left his home and had taken refuge in Srinagar. Ikhwan were searching for him. One day the dead body of Ashfaq was brought. Who killed him? I don't know. But people believe he too was killed by Ikhwan. Then one more tragic incident happened when Tahir of Ikhwan was attacked by some boy. Though Tahir was unhurt but he started searching for Raju's father Tahir Khan, a shop keeper near the spot where Tahir of Ikhwan was attacked. He was the only bread winner of his family now. After a few days Raju's father Tahir Khan my next door neighbor at Kadipora was taken away in midnight. He was said to have been taken away by Tahir of Ikhwan and his boys. He remained disappeared for many days. And finally Tahir Khan's dead body was brought to his house. He had marks of bullets on his face. It is said that after being kidnapped he was taken to Tral and in open area people of the locality were asked to come out of their houses and see the militant who was roped to a tree. He was introduced to the people of locality as an Afgani Militant who had come to devastate the whole Tral by using mine blasts. He was killed there.

Getting back to Shahid-ul-Islam, I had shifted from Anantnag to Rajbagh Srinagar. I was going home, to Rajbagh once. It was fifteen minutes to Iftaar and someone came from Hurriyat office – he might have been in the Hurriyat Geelani group. He said Shahid wants to meet you please come in. I refused to go to the office. Meanwhile, Shahid Ul Islam came to me and said to me very rudely that without any arguments come inside I have to talk to you. I told him I knew all his connections and links. He wanted to create a scene. I went inside the Hurriyat office. He rudely asked me that you have a poem in your book against me. I shouted at Shahid that it is not 1995 when you defamed me by publishing against me in newspapers and called me to your hideout. I know why you did all that. It was because of your interests in Doordarshan affairs. I said gone are the days. I can lodge an FIR against you. This was just a few years back. I asked him what his problem. The other person with him who perhaps was from Geelani group tried to pacify me and Shahid ul Islam. Then Shahid ul Islam started behaving. I cannot say if he was pretending but he confessed that he was being accused by ISI of shutting down some polytechnic college, taking some money from someone and for being responsible in making me stand for elections. He cleared his position that he had not published defaming material against me. That was all done by his secretary in his absence. But I knew he was lying.

There are many stories of crimes from those days.

I remember in the year 1997, in Bakshiabad there was a tailor. His name was Yousuf. His son was kidnapped. They came to me. The Ikhwan had kidnapped him. I went to Liyaqat to intervene. I argued in their favour. Army or CRPF were also there. He started shouting about "his country" for their benefit. I left and Liyaqat came in his vehicle. I said I am going to Jammu. I left for Jammu. He sent people – someone called Nisar, shopkeeper – to Jammu. I had gone with my family. This was after elections. Nisar came – he too had been trapped by Ikhwan to work. He had been sent to placate me.

Every shopkeeper of Dangerpora knows that Setha once got Dr. Mehmood and his wife. Dr. Mehmood was said to have links with Jamaat. Setha asked the wife to go. They took him to Dangarpora. The wife was telling people about this. They went to meet Liyaqat between Mattan Chowk and Dangerpora. He reassured her but the body reached home.

There was a boy called Nisar from Verinag who was once picked up. His sister, Fareeda, was daughter in law of Shakir Sahib. She requested me to help. I then spoke to Dr. Ghulam Qadir Reshi. He said he was an eye witness. He went to SICOP Bijbehara along with

Dr. Padder and Dr. Shah. The officer said they had brought a boy who had to be saved. Dr. Reshi, was from Naibasti, and he says his leg had been broken on the thigh but not at the joint. The boy took fifteen minutes to say his name. Then 15 minutes to give the place where he was from. He said his uncle was Sonaullah Nisar, a principal in Bijbehara. The boy ultimately died in Awantipora.

The structure of Anantnag Ikhwan had Liyaqat on top and then people like Tahir and Setha below. Idrees Baba was a partner of Liyaqat. Liyaqat and Idrees Baba used to buy Kashmiri Pandit property in cheap. The SOG had a role in Islamabad. DSP Chauhan, was there, DSP Ramesh Jalla was also there. MM and Ikhwan did not get along. They were all under the army. The army did not trust Ghulam Nabi Azad. The Ikhwan also used to work with the BSF/CRPF.

I can also talk a bit about Kashmir Pandits. They never left together. Whoever got a chance left and others stayed behind. There was fear. For example, Dulari Handoo left on 5 June 1990. Premnath Bhat was also killed. He was a lawyer. I don't know who killed him. A father and son Kashmiri Pandits bodies from Kokernag were thrown at the Ashajipora Bridge. Their name was "Premi" something. He was a teacher in education department. They were from Souf, Kokernag. But, there were no slogans that we heard against Pandits. In fact even I ran out of fear in those days. There was fear because of which people used to go to the Masjid and there was sloganeering. This may have scared the Pandits but that was not the intention. The Pandit houses were never burnt together. One Pandit wanted the house burnt for insurance for example as well. Even that is a factor one must keep in mind - some wanted their properties burnt. There was also fear in the common people that the forces would enter and stay in the Pandit houses. Sometimes the forces are also said to have burnt down these houses to end hideouts.

After my coming out of Ikhwan's hell Liyaqat did not try to hurt me but he started to harass my close friend Zaffar Farooq Salati. Liyaqat used to go to Zaffar sahib's office asking for his Zen car. Zaffar was helpless and had no option but to offer him his car. Liyaqat would not stop. He once asked Zaffar to pay the money that they had spent on my election. Zaffar paid the whole amount spent as election expenditure.

Time kept changing but for me and my senior artists nothing changed. Even after the retirement of Mr. Nazki, our condition remained the same because the street hawkers who had become the big producers by the blessing of Mr. Nazki continued getting the same favor by all the corrupt directors of Doordarshan Srinagar- that Nazki Sahib's group accelerated the loot by paying bribe to all the station directors till date. They are strong financially and we the seniors and now the new generation artists are facing the brunt because of the outcome of loot. No work is being restored.

My victimization has not stopped. I don't know what almighty has in store for me.

In the month of Ramadhan on 2 or 3 of July 2015, I with my artist fraternity was on a two day state protest against the stopping of work in Doordarshan. I was compering the proceedings of the protest. Almost all the victims – senior artists were present in the protest. I, while compering, made the mention of the corruption done by the old group of Nazki Sahib. The old group was annoyed with my true comments. That is how they and their Godfather Mr. Nazki got Doordarshan in such a hell where instead of performing we have come on the roadside to protest for work. First day somehow I was tolerated by the old thekedar group but on the second day the old group of Nazki sahib managed to bring an ex-Ikhwani-turned politician Usman Majeed [now a Congress MLA] to the spot of the protest outside Doordarshan. I was asked by the old contractor-turned producer group to welcome Usman Majeed and invite him to make speech. I was confused as what to do. Meanwhile a talented progressive director Mr. Arshad Mushtaq who was sitting with senior artists stood up and he before leaving the spot came to me and whispered in my ear, "Dada sahib, I cannot sit in front of the invited MLA for his being what he is known for." Mr. Arshad Mushtaq left the spot but he put me in a dilemma as what to do. Meanwhile Zohar Adhaan echoed and I announced a 15 minute Namaaz break. I thought during Namaaz break I will talk to seniors whether to allow Usman Majeed to make a speech or not. But then suddenly the old contractors of Nazki Sahib took advantage. A travel-agent-turned dishonest producer shouted at me for not allowing Usman Majeed for making speech.
Slogans "Usmaan Majeed Zindaabad" echoed and the mike was almost snatched from me and Usman Majeed was allowed to make speech. I had no option but to leave the spot. I posted the request on Facebook regarding the whole episode and I am again worried that what is coming next…?

10 A. Shahidul Islam, then Commander in Chief of Hizbullah and presently leader of Hurriyat (M)

Bashir Dada is partially telling the truth and his lies are an attempt to justify his participation in elections. It is true that, I asked him to meet me in 1995 after we had got information about his wayward activities Delhi alongwith his team. He came to meet me with Kaiser Shafi Shah, who is our mutual relative. They came to meet me in Rajbagh locality behind convent school, in a rented house of Riyaz Ahmed, a leader of Muslim Student's Federation who was actually a resident of Sarai Bala, Srinagar area. I counseled him and told him that his actions were bringing disrepute to Kashmiris and his family particularly. I did not harm him.

Later in 1996, when I was arrested and I was being tortured by SOG personnel at the Cargo led by

Ashkoor Wani, there was a particular torture session in which I was asked by Ashkoor Wani that why I had humiliated and bothered Bashir Dada.

Even in the past I have confronted Dada on his lies against me, but it appears that he has believed his own lie and now wants others to also trust him.

10 B. Mohammad Shafi Misgar, former JKLF leader, resident of Islamabad

You cannot meet irrelevant people, non-entities in the resistance movement, and whose contemptible role has been condemned. I was the spokesperson of the JKLF at that time. As Bashir Dada was my relative and friend, I used to meet him. But, these pro-India people and we are like two banks of a river; there is no meeting point. We are ideologically different. Whatever they say it is their personal opinion. I did not enter into any agreement regarding elections. There is no fact in what they say. I am the senior most person of the movement. I was first arrested in 1970 and to date I have not reneged on the cause. Maybe because of my civil problems, age factor etc I may not be carrying on. But I have not reneged the cause. The pro-India people can say anything. We have never been a part of their policy. We negate in letter and spirit what they say.

Hilal Beg and his organization Students' Liberation Front [SLF] were a subservient group to JKLF constitutionally and therefore that is how Liyaqat was known to us. He was part of SLF. Then they took a different course, which was unacceptable to us and therefore we ceased all relations with them.

I had no meeting with regard to elections with Bashir Dada or Liyaqat. Why would we have projected Bashir Dada as a candidate if we didn't believe in the elections? We felt the movement had not ended. We felt it would culminate in an outcome. When a person is not in the field they say anything. The counter-insurgents have thousands of justifications for their actions.

If Bashir Dada did not have any inclination for participating in elections, it would not be possible for anyone to force him into elections. It is not possible. You have to go to the people. Those who from inside wanted to contest elections, they did so. At that time the people who fought elections were not forced by India but yes they were used.

11. Mohammad Syed Shah, ex-MLA of Islamabad and brother of Shabir Ahmad Shah [Hurriyat leader], resident of Islamabad

I can tell you about the event relating to the death of my father. There was a strike in the area. DSP Muneer Khan was in charge then. There was stone pelting going on. Some boys in Kadipora were caught. They removed their clothes and manhandled them. My father was watching from inside. He intervened and said arrest them if you like but you cannot remove their clothes and behave with them like this. They hit him with a stick and took him away. The next day he died in hospital. SI Ghulam Jeelani was Duty Officer then probably. He later died of cancer.

I was in Jammu when this happened. I heard my father had been taken to the hospital. We left the next morning in a car. I and my wife came by air. Pyarelal Handoo [a minister in the then Farooq Abdullah's government] was also with us. He came upto Khanabal. He could not proceed beyond that. He remained at Khanabal with the army. I continued from there. By then my father had died.

There was a Deputy Commissioner then who came to see us. His name was Ali Mohammad Mir, resident of Panthachowk. Mohammad Husain Shah, who was a project officer then, also came to see and help. But, I requested them to leave and that no help was needed. The army did not allow us to proceed to the grave. For 15 days there was curfew and we were stuck at home. Shabir Shah said we should not follow the case as killing was what the State did. It was their work. But there was a FIR.

Governor Saxena once came to meet me at the classroom of Degree College Islamabad, where the meeting was possible. He first said Dak Bungalow but I said no. We met in the classroom. On entering the premises of Degree College, the Police wanted to search me but I refused. I had a pistol with me. It was licenced. I refused a search. Then they allowed me inside. I told Saxena about the provocation people were facing. He said the case would be processed. His intention was to pacify me. This was quite a few months after the incident. They wanted me to work with them.

The Ikhwan here in Islamabad was sponsored by the army. For example Tahir is now in the army. This shows that they were sponsored by the army. They also worked with other groups like CRPF but the army had overall control. Ikhwan used to arrest people and when we tried to get them released we had to go to the army camp. We had to go to the Khanabal camp to get them released. There was a Commanding Officer called J.J. Singh that I remember. At the camp the boys used to have their hands tied. I went to the camp many times to get boys released.

When boys were picked up by Ikhwanis, people used to come to me and ask for my help. I had to go to the army camp. The boys were always shifted there. For example, I once saw a boy called Mohammad Shafi Sofi in the camp. His hands were tied and he was in bad shape. At the camp it was normally a Major who interacted with me. I used to send a note about myself inside. Then I was called inside and the Major used to meet me inside. That time the Ikhwan never came forward in the camp. I never approached the Ikhwan directly.

I must have facilitated the release of 50-70 boys from Khanabal camp. In fact, even my son Afroze was taken in 1994 to Khanabal camp and kept for 3 days. This was in connection to Muzaffar Ahmad Sofi who was a militant. There was a raid at home. They said they have to take him. I said ok. My son was 26 then.

Sometimes whole mohallas were arrested. 20-25 boys from Kadipora were once picked up from the Syed Sahib masjid. CRPF did this. I went to Dak Bungalow and saw DIG Malik. He was based out of Khanabal. I even had to assist in getting a dead body released once. It was the body release of Tariq Ahmad Mujkhal, son of Ghulam Nabi Mujkhal. They shot him and his body was taken to Police control room, Srinagar. It was CRPF. He was in a procession when he was targeted.

Once even I was picked up. I was at home. Many people came at night in pherans. There were CRPF people also there. The pheran people called me. I was taken to Naibasti CRPF camp. I was there till 2 or so at night. No one came. Then an officer came. He told me that Muzaffar Sofi was at my house as was Javed Ahmed Mir of JKLF. He asked me where they were. They had in fact come. I said they came, ate and left. Then the officer left. They left me at night itself and dropped me home.

There were many crimes committed. For example, Dr. Mehmood was killed by Setha Gujjar. He was shot as he was with Jamaat-e-Islaami. Showkat Ahmad Shardar was killed by Tahir. He was a relative of ours and had no connection with militancy.

Bashir Ahmad Shikari was killed in a group rivalry. He was with Muslim Conference. Abdul Rashid Painter was also killed in a group rivalry. General knowledge is that HM killed them. Both were with Muslim Conference. Shikari was a close friend of mine. He did not do anything wrong to anyone.

12. Bilal Siddique, ex-commander of MM, resident of Srinagar

I was first with JKLF. I was arrested and released in 1991. JKLF and HM had fights. My role was to bring them close. It did not really happen but we used to manage to contain conflict. But a forum or coordination could not happen. I had a few people with me – Jan Peer sahib and others. But we were becoming targets of agencies. We tried this for a year and a half. Ahsan Dar and we realized we had to leave. The problem for Ahsan Dar was that HM had taken Jamaat-e-Islami support but Jamaat, he felt, should not try and dominate. This was the basic issue. So we tried to ensure that civil issues should not be intruded on which affected the Jamaat. So we then wanted to have camps away from people but Jamaat did not like that. Then other issues got connected in. So ultimately Ahsan Dar resigned. Salahuddin was Sarparast [patron] already – from 1990 itself. Ahsan Dar wanted to have a limited militancy. He was thinking of political support as well. So we were with Muslim Conference and Professor Gani Bhat. Even Muslim Conference required to have a militant group to support them. So it was a need on both sides.

In those days HM had around 1700 or 1800 men with weapons. But, we felt the real fighters were only 70-80. These are the boys we wanted with us. I wanted to call them first and then announce MM. But, that was not the way it was done. We could not get them on board. Then even HM did not trust those boys.

I went across and actually then MM was formed. This was in 1992. We did work there i.e. across the border. Ahsan Dar was made Chairman. Some other organizations also came into it – 4-5 of them. So it was a good force – after HM it was a strong force. Ahsan Dar was arrested end December [before his arrest he was once detained in Islamabad by HM but the HM boys on ground released him and others he had been detained with]. I returned in April/May 1994. When I came back things had changed. No one knew who was where. Hayat Khan was in Pattan and already doing anti-movement things. Same case with Azam Khan. I took action against them and I think I sent them both off to Islamabad. We were actually unable to control them. I do not think Athar did anything anti-movement.

When I returned in 1994, April/May, I went to Pattan. Professor Gani Bhat came to Pattan and there was a meeting in Chaksari in the house of Bashir Ahmad Rather. He told me that a senior operations army officer had told him that the army could assist the MM against the HM onslaught. Professor Gani Bhat asked me as a commander of MM if we were interested and if so he would inform the army officer. The room was full of other commander's/main cadre uncluding Athar. I was shocked by this. I said there is no need for this. Instead I told him that there is some money that has come for me to you, give that to me. I don't think he even gave me the money. I wonder today how he could dare to do this. I stayed there for a month and not more.

Subsequent to this meeting we had a gathering in Chaksari at Wazir Bagh. But, there was an army cordon in the orchard. The army attacked and even though they got affected – 20-25 of theirs died, but one of our man Salaam Dar was killed. I escaped. Later I found out that some local boys were involved – maybe Sajad. We left from there. I stayed in Srinagar with our deputy Shabir Zargar for a while. I could not even stay for a year. I again went across the border and returned after 8 months and I was arrested on 11 November 1996. I was in jail for 11 years.

The MM was finally closed down in 1996. The funding from across stopped.

Naba Azad's role was clear when he returned after me from Pakistan. Till then he was good. Or, should I say, he apparently seemed good. He came to Srinagar and stayed for a bit. Then he returned to his place. Once he reached his area things changed. He was making

demands and we drifted apart. This was 1994 ending. When we removed Naba Azad from the organization everyone except for HM were angry with us, particularly Harkat-ul-Ansar. They said he was doing good work.

Professor Abdul Gani Bhat also dealt with the local commanders himself giving money. He used to meet commanders. This was from 1993-1996. From Pakistan the money to Professor Gani came in different way. There was so much correspondence from his office – Rs. 1/1.5 lakh was spent in his office just in postage in those days. There was a lot of work being done. So the funding was going on.

There were times in those days when we did not even know our unit somewhere. We had to try and control them. Some people even did things using our name.

13. Shabir Dar, resident of Sopore

The link between MM and Muslim Conference was all about Professor Abdul Gani Bhat, so he is the best person to talk to. Actually Muslim Conference was not patronizing a military organization but it was the need of the hour because militants did not get recognized without a political group. Actually Sumji was probably chairman then and he had a relationship with Ahsan Dar. The structure of Muslim Conference was: Chairman, Vice Chairman, two general secretaries, organizing secretary, treasurer [Abdul Rashid Wani was always treasurer atleast until I left them]. In 1992 the chairman was Sumji. Professor Bhat became chairman in 1995. But he was always the one with control. The political party was never accountable to the militant group and vice versa.

At some point the MM could not handle the HM. So, MM shifted, intentionally or unintentionally, towards the army. I do not know whether that was purposefully done or not. The army was obviously ready. Then even the Muslim Conference distanced itself from MM when they found out about the link. But there were also moves to bring back HM and MM together. Hurriyat conference was newly formed and Geelani, Sumji, Professor Bhat, Yasin Malik tried to bring them together. The process continued for two years of reconciliation.

The head of the organization was the one that got money. No one else knew about the money. So I am unaware of the financial connection between Muslim Conference and MM. There was no transparency of money. No organization knew where the money was coming from or not. I am not a witness to Professor Gani Bhat giving MM commanders money. He was very cautious about such things and I cannot believe he would have done something like this.

I never attended this meeting you talk about in Chaksari where the Professor and Bilal Siddiqui were present. I was not in that circle. Adv. G.N. Shaheen, I believe was at that meeting in Chaksari. Sumji was also there. It was a meeting with MM. I got politically active in 1994. I was organizing secretary. This offer of army support was not discussed. We could not have afforded to discuss such an offer.

This issue of Professor Bhat telling some people that the solution to the MM and HM issue was killing Jamaatis was something I never heard.

People knew about people like Hayat Khan. Muslim Conference tried to contact Naba Azad for example to dissuade him from his ways. He said he would never go to the army side. This must have been 1995. Naba Azad used to come to Wazir Bagh office of ours in Srinagar. I even saw him there in 1995. But, once there was a public statement by HM against Naba Azad even Muslim Conference closed the chapter on him.

We in Muslim Conference thought the MM was against HM. Slowly things became clear. The Muslim Conference person from Achabal had also joined Naba Azad. Then MM was disbanded and the money stopped.

In 1996, Professor Bhat's brother was killed and after that he was openly against HM.

Individual Stories of Violence: Testimonies

14. Ashiq Hussain, resident of Islamabad

This incident happened 5-7 years back – but before 2008. I was walking past Jammu Kashmir Bank, Cheeni Chowk. A passer-by walked by with some cash, but he was not going to the bank. As he was walking, someone ran past and snatched the cash from him. I don't remember the person from whom the cash was taken. The cash taken was in a bundle – it was a big amount. People chased after the thief. As he was running, he showed a grenade to the people who were chasing him. But when he realized that people were not going to back down he ran towards the CRPF camp at Cheeni Chowk. He removed a card from his pocket and showed it to the sentry at the bunker outside the camp. The personnel took him inside. The people who were chasing him gathered in a crowd around the camp. I too was in this crowd. We raised slogans and asked that the police be called. There were around hundred persons in the crowd. A two-starred officer from Sherbagh Police Post arrived and we told him that an FIR should be lodged. He agreed, but we said that we will not leave before the FIR is filed. Then the SHO Saddar Police Station arrived. He too tried to reassure us that an FIR will be lodged later. But, we were insisting that the FIR be filed before us – either there itself, or in front of our representatives who would go to the police station. In my agitation, I tried to snatch his stick from his hand. He got very angry. After I tried to snatch the stick the police dispersed the crowd with a lathi charge and tear gas.

The following day I was at my shop. My brother, Mushtaq was seated in the opposite shop. A police Gypsy arrived. The police personnel entered my shop. I don't remember who they were. They took me into the gypsy. They said, "You know what you have done, and

why we are taking you. I was taken to Saddar Police Station. Every police personnel in the police station beat me. With sticks and gun everything. As the gypsy entered the police station complex, policemen grabbed me from the vehicle, and dragged me to a room. Then they started beating me. They beat me for about half an hour. They were also kicking me. There were about 20-30 policemen. I saw the SHO there as well. Then they left me in that room. It was next to the SHO's room. Every once in a while, policemen would come in and beat me, or give me a few kicks. The escort of the SHO beat me a lot. I don't remember how long I was there for, but it was a long time. I was conscious through out, but was bleeding. The local medical association and my brothers and other locals came to the police station to intervene on my behalf, when they heard that I had been picked up. The SHO told them that I had misbehaved with him. I was brought into the SHO's room. As I entered, the SHO said, "Look at him! He is acting so tough even after being beaten for so long. He hasn't lost his arrogance." The people who had intervened on my behalf for my release, said that I wouldn't repeat this. Finally I was allowed to go. The police said that an FIR was filed against that man who stole the cash. We also heard that the thief, who was Kashmiri, was working with the High Ground camp. I didn't try and find out more, because I was beaten very badly, and it still hurts. I still have pains in my hip and in my neck as well. I had never been beaten like that before or since. Another boy was also picked up, at the same time. I don't remember his name. He stays in Cheeni Chowk, and he works at a medical agency. He too was part of the same protest. When I reached the police station, the other boy was already there. He had already been beaten badly. He had revealed my name as one of the main protestors. We both were released together.

I can tell you some more general things as well. The meetings of the Ikhwan were generally in the Army camp. This was at Khanabal Camp. People used to see them regularly going in and out. They were not working with the CRPF but they may have worked with the BSF. Whenever they had an operation – the SOG and the Army were with them. The BSF was there first and then the CRPF came.

15. Ashiq Hussain Narchoor, resident of Islamabad

In 2004, I was picked by SOG and RR of Khanabal camp, 42nd battalion. Sub-Inspector Rashid, DSP Operations Harmeet Singh, Kaka Battaa (two star), and SHO Shabir were involved. All four were part of SOG. SOG along with the army cordoned our house. The above named four SOG personnel entered our house and along with a few other SOG personnel took me in a Rakshak Jeep to JIC, Khanabal. The army personnel remained outside. Kaka Battaa had also beaten up a student from Kashmir University in 2007 at JIC Humhama/Cargo.

Others detained at the time were:

- *Suhail Rashid Din, son of Abdul Rashid Din, resident of Mattan. He was with HM*
- *Ashiq Hussain Boda. He was with HM*
- *Altaf Hussain Mujkhal, son of Ghulam Hassan Mujkhal. He was with HM.*
- *Ghulam Rasool Najar. He was with HM.*
- *Manzoor Ahmad Bhat. He was with HM.*
- *Mukhtar Ahmad Waza. He was with HM.*

At the JIC, I was tortured; I was hung upside down and was beaten on my back. My legs were stretched and a wooden roller was rolled on my legs. S.I Rashid removed my toe nails. Ramesh (one star) another SOG personnel was rolling the roller on my legs. I came to know about the names of these officers in the JIC. After 8-9 days in the JIC I was taken to the Khanabal Camp. There I was kept in the torture cell. I was tortured there as well. Methods used included putting my head under water and rolling on my legs by army personnel. I did not come to know about the names of any army personnel. Once in the camp, Ashiq Bukhari came and asked me to produce weapons. He also beat me himself. The allegation against me was that I was a militant and used to associate with other militants, namely Ghulam Rasool Wagay alias Kach Gour and with Babar, a Pakistani militant. Ashiq Bukhari told me that they had information I used to associate with these militants. Ghulam Rasool Wagay [militant] was my neighbor. I didn't have connection with the militancy but as he was our neighbor, we were on good terms. In the Khanabal camp I was kept for one day only and on the same evening I was brought back to JIC at about 07:00 pm. In the JIC I was detained for 18 days and then I was taken to Kot Bhalwal prison, Jammu. As I was tortured severely at the JIC, I was placed under medical treatment and bed rest in Kot Bhalwal for 3 and half months. I was not even able to walk for a long time. After nine months in Kot Bhalwal, the first challan against me was presented and I was summoned to Islamabad court. This happened on 11 July 2005, under FIR 513/2004 U/S 302,307, RPC 7/27 Arms Act, Police station Islamabad. Subsequently, other challan was also presented against as well as a PSA booking. Finally, I was released only to be arrested again. This harassment and detentions continue to date.

16. Ghulam Rasool Najar alias Rasool Afghani, aged 35 years, son of Abdul Rehman Najar, resident of General Bus Stand, Islamabad

In 1995 Ikhwanis were forcing me to work with them and join the Ikhwan. These Ikhwanis were under the command of Tahir Fuf resident of Khanabal, Liyaqat, resident of Police Colony, Islamabad and Setha Gujar resident of General bus stand, Islamabad. These three were the top line commanders of the Ikhwan in Islamabad and they were responsible for sending their personnel to force me to join Ikhwan. But I refused to join. At that time we were living in Dangerpora. Ikhwanis came many times to my home sometimes in the night and also beat my family. This harassment

compelled me to leave my house and I migrated to Nawakadal, Srinagar.

On 26 August 1995, Ikhwanis namely Sameer Darzi, alias Babloo, son of Abdul Majeed Darzi resident of Dangerpora, accompanied by others came to my house at about 09:30 am and picked up my 13 year old brother Nisar Ahmad who was leaving for school then. He was taken to the Kadipora Ikhwani camp. There he was tortured to reveal my whereabouts and where I had hidden the weapons. After he was beaten a lot, he told them that the weapons are at home. These Ikhwanis brought him back to the home and searched our house. The Ikhwanis present on this occasion were Showket resident of Aishmuqam, Tahir Fuf, Ghulam Rasool Wagay alias Kach Gour resident of Martiyard, Islamabad, Setha Gujjar resident of Lal Chowk, Islamabad. But they couldn't find anything in the house. While searching the house they kept my mother, Mahtaba and my sister in a room. Tahir Fuf beat my mother with a stick and Sameer Darzi beat my father Abdul Rehman Darzi and kicked him in the abdomen. Then the Ikhwanis took my brother back to the Malakhnagh area and shot him on the road. He received many bullet injuries, which caused his death. One of the fingers of his hand had also been cut. His death caused my father's cardiac problems because of which he also died in 2007. I came to know about this through my family. I came to Islamabad at the death of my brother and then I left and went back to Srinagar.

I returned to my house in 1997 and after 3-4 days in Islamabad, the Intelligence Bureau took me to Khanabal camp and detained me for 15 days. For the first 5 days I was tortured. They rolled a roller on my body, administered electric shocks, and dipped my head in water. I was released after 15 days.

In 2004, there was an attack on Omar Abdullah at Sarnal while going to Safder Beg's house on the 4th day ceremony after the death of Safder Beg. I was accused for the attack, under section 307 [attempt to murder], and was arrested by Army, SOG, CRPF, from my home and taken to the JIC. In the JIC I was kept for 9 days and I was tortured by Harmeet Singh, Ramesh and Mukesh there. Methods of torture used, included administering electric shocks to my body, hanging by my hands and dipping my head in water. After that I was taken to Kot Bhalwal jail and was imprisoned for two years under the Public Safety Act.

After my release I bought an auto and started auto driving.

17. Farooq Ahmad Khan [aka Tajamul], son of Ghulam Hassan Khan, resident of Rampora [6 kms from Islamabad town], Mattan

I was arrested for the first time by RR in High Ground camp in 1993. Major Ravi Dewan was posted there in 1993 and involved in my arrest/ interrogation. I was interrogated off and on over three days. Army people were doing the interrogation. Major Dewan was an officer and he didn't do the interrogation himself. Then, I was taken to Khanabal army camp. I remained in custody in Khanabal for three months. My father was an ex-soldier. After three months I was released. At that time Bilal Khan/Bilal Sheikh, son of Ayoub Sahib, was an active militant. Bilal had a hideout in my neighbor's house. When I was being interrogated I would be asked for Bilal Khan's whereabouts. But Bilal Khan trusted me and never moved from where he was. There was even a crackdown a few times in that Mohalla, while I was in their custody – they would bring me along with them, but Bilal never got caught. Bilal's hideout was known to Sikander and others. They would all hide in the hideout when there were crackdowns. The hideout was behind a shelf in the kitchen. It was a small 5 feet by 5 feet area. Bilal managed to escape detection for another year or two, till 1994/1995. Someone then leaked information and said that Bilal and his father used to be seen at Namaaz together and therefore he must be staying at home. There was a crackdown at night. The army got his father - who had returned from Namaaz, and cut his throat. The informer was insisting that he was right there. But they couldn't catch Bilal. At last they caught Abdul Aziz Sheikh who after torture revealed the truth about the hideout. Then, to escape Bilal exploded a grenade and three/four people died. The Mohalla was also burnt. 2 other houses were also burnt. I think the houses were burnt during the firing. There is a hill behind the mohalla from where Bilal was fighting – he was shot but he continued fighting until he died. The army cut Yaqoob's throat. He was dropped from a height, third or fourth floor of a building.

The people in my house were also tortured. People who were tortured included my mother, Taja Begum, my sister Mumtaza, and Father. Taja and Mumtaza were verbally abused. Informers would say that there were weapons at our house. There was even a plan to kill me. The CRPF, based at Gurtumnag temple camp also used to come to the house. Hamid Gabbar was an Ikhwan who used to make me do mukhbiri. Abbas Bengali later killed him.

The army used to come at night and take people in cars and show them as informers in the locality. They were not informers. Sometimes they used to drink and open the gate. They used to interrogate and ask about people. They used to ask us to identify people but we would not do it.

18. Mehrajuddin Bichoo, son of Ghulam Nabi Bichoo, resident of Malakhnag

On 27 October 1990, members of JKLF hurled a grenade on a CRPF vehicle. The vehicle upturned, causing the death of 5-6 people. CRPF Personnel started picking up the dead bodies and within a few minutes more troops of the CRPF, stationed outside Islamabad [either Andernag or Lal Chowk] arrived at the site of the incident. Abdul Gani Sofi's and Abdul Rehman Sofi's shops were set on fire by the CRPF personnel but somehow the locals managed to extinguish the fire in these two shops. The CRPF men

then set Nisar Laba's shop on fire. From a distance of about 100 feet, I could see the CRPF men putting petrol. They poured petrol over Abdul Gani's godown, a tambucco producer and burnt it down.

The residents of the area were now panic stricken, some of them ran away, while some still remained in the neighborhood. Suddenly, a huge group of the CRPF troops came inside my Mohalla, namely, Khwaja Mir Ali Kocha. They started firing in the air. From the third floor of my house, I saw them sprinkling gun-powder across the Mohalla. That night houses of 450 families [more than 250 houses] were burnt in my locality. After burning houses, the CRPF troops burnt two mosques in the area: Shah Sahib Masjid, Khankhah and Malakhnag Masjid. They kept firing in the air so that the people would not dare to extinguish the fire and even stopped the Fire Brigade from helping the people. A group of ten to twelve locals, including Dr. Abdul Majid Sheikh, Mehrajuddin, Nazir Ahmed, Mohammad Ashraf Veeri, me and a couple of others tried to take out a few belongings out of my house. But it was all in vain. We didn't manage to take out anything. We just left everything there. CRPF came inside my house to catch hold of me, but I managed to hide in the kitchen. I tried to escape through the window but couldn't since it had an iron grill. People had kept their precious belongings with me, and I removed them. I just wanted to escape. My house did not get destroyed. I managed to reach Hazratbal where some arrangements had been made for the victims. One could still hear the gunshots, but it no longer scared me. I sat down at Cheeni Chowk, without a slipper and sweater. The Militants asked the shopkeepers to give me clothes and slippers.

The shops destroyed were in Malakhnag, Cheeni Chowk, Shah Sahib, Khawaja Mir Ali. People whose houses were burnt:

Myself and my brothers, my uncle Mohammad Amin Bichoo, Ghulam Mohiuddin Chapoo, Mohammad Abdullah Bichoo, Muzaffar Ahamd Bichoo, Nazir Ahmad Kain, Mohamad Abdullah Padder, Ghulam Rasool Padder and three brothers, Abdul Gani Shah, Fayaz Ahmad Kain, Mohammad Ayoub Baldev, Ghulam Nabi Baldev, Abdul Aziz Baldev, Mohammad Ramzan Ganai, Ali Mohammad Ganai, Gul Mohammad Ganai, Mohammad Yousuf Ganai, Ghulam Nabi Laba, Mohammad Ramzan Wani, Nisar Ahmad Kain, Abdul Rashid Aggoo, Abdul Majid Tak, Mohammad Amin Tak, Ghulam Nabi Bichoo, Abdul Ahad Baba, Manzoor Ahmad Sofi had one other brother, Abdul Rashid Talak/Wani, Gulzar Ahmad Sofi, Mohammad Ramzan Misgar son of Abdul Ahad Joo, Mohammad Ramzan Misgar son of Mohammad Maqbool, Abdul Gani Tota, Mohammad Khalil Mattoo, Mohammad Ibrahim Misgar, Mohammad Shafi Kachguroo, Mohammad Hussain Mattoo, Farooq Ahmad Drabu, Mohammad Ayub Drabu, Mohammad Abbas Drabu, Mohammad Khalil Kain, Shamasuddin Misgar, Abdul Gani Misgar, Mohammad Khalil Tota, Ghulam Mohiuddin Tota, Ghulam Nabi Misgar, Showkat Ahmad Dakhlu, Nisar Ahmad Taja, Firdous Ahmad Taja, Abdul Gaffar Lachoo, Ghulam Qadir Sofi, Khursheed Ahmad Sofi, Abdul Gani Sofi, Abdul Rehman Sofi, Sonaullah Jalla, Sajad Jalla, Nisar Ahmad Saudagar, Nisar Ahmad Bhat, Abdul Ahad Chapoo, Abdul Ahad Bhat, Ghulam Ahamd Bhat, Abdul Gani Lone, Ghulam Rasool Lone, Abdul Rashid Nadaf, Mohammad Ismail Nadaf, Abdul Rashid Saudagar, Javed Ahmad Saudagar, Abdul Rahim Wani, Mohammad Anwar Wagay etc.

People returned to rebuild their homes at the same places. No one was injured that night. However the total population affected was around 2000/3000. When the fire brigade came they were fired upon and beaten and chased away. The people could not even return the next day. The fire was moving like the wind. When I returned there was nothing. I did not know where my land or house was. I had been staying at my maternal home in Hazratbal. When I came back home I didn't install windows because they kept getting damaged at the hands of the armed forces, through firing or during their raids. This happened continuously for a period of four years.

MJF on behalf of People's League gave Rs 1,000 each and Manzoor-ul-Islam Rs 1,000 each on behalf of JKLF. Other groups gave beds and Rs. 500 each from Al-Umar. The Government paid Rs 50,000 per house [Not per family], 400 feet of wood, which included 200 feet of Deodar and 200 feet of Bodru Wood.

After this incident, there were regular crackdowns in our locality. In 1990, the first crackdown was imposed on our village by the Sikh Regiment and the elders of our locality were caught and tortured. They were made to put their legs up in the wiring of the masjid. My paternal aunt, namely Halima [wife of Ghulam Ahmad Bichoo] had hidden her gold. She was slapped for hiding her gold. The following were tortured: Ghulam Hassan Baldev, Imam Habibullah (Molvi), Ghulam Ahmad Sofi [father of Mukhtar Ahmad Sofi – with Peoples League] and Sirajuddin Patigaroo. Sirajuddin Patigaroo was made to eat coal and clean the walls on which "Islamabad" had been written. He was made to lick the mud on the writings on the wall, which would then reveal the word "Islamabad" and then he was beaten.

In another incident, in the year 1990 as well, a Kashmiri Pandit female doctor and her husband were beaten and she got head injuries. Later they migrated. Another local, Mohamamd Ashraf Hafeez was also beaten. An amount of Rs 10,000 was stolen from him and when he told them, he was beaten. He was then taken to the hospital and had ten stiches in his head.

After the massive fire incident, maybe in 1993, Sameer Khan's mother Shamima Dalal was at her parent's house in Shah Sahab Mohalla, Malakhnag. There was an encounter going on in Islamabad. The forces used to randomly fire in the air. The mortar shell hit the window and she died, on the fourth floor of the

Dalal Manzil. Another person was also killed – Aijaz Ahmad Sofi, son of Abdullah Sofi by the same process. Both are buried in the premises of the Shah Sahib Shrine. The boy was on the ground – he was 13/14 years old. They were in the same structure. This was called Dalal Manzil.

In the Ikhwan period – they would randomly come and ask for money. They would take goods without paying. During hartals people were forced to open the shops. They used to break the locks. They used to come in a group and raid the place. I used to buy goods from Srinagar. When the person used to come for money, the Ikhwan looted them on their way back. The system of trade itself changed. I used to go to Srinagar with cash and buy goods there. Earlier they used to come with goods to Islamabad.

During one of my cousin's wedding [Fayaz Ahmed], two Ikhwanis came and asked for the feast, namely, Mush Tota, Bitta [both were later killed]. They were with JKLF and then Ikhwan. They came early in the morning. After they were served food at 10:30 or so, they asked for gift money – Rs 10,000. Whatever cash the family had received in the form of gifts, about 5000/6000, they were forced to hand it over to them. The Ikhwanis threatened to fire from the High Ground, in case they weren't given the money. Even after the money was given they said they would still fire. All the people present in his house came out and said please don't do that as Fayaz's sister was also going to get married on the same day.

KK – he was also called Lighta – used to come and raid shops in the market. He used to snatch the cash from shopkeepers. He used to stay while the customers were paying and he would simply snatch the cash.

Setha Gujjar was earlier with militants – JKLF, HM and then he was tortured by Al-Jehad and then army and eventually he changed sides and joined Ikhwan. In front of the district court he constructed line of shops – around 40 shops. He just forced people to build them and even got construction materials from people. The whole line got demolished when he died – 1996/1997.

I remember some crimes that took place. Farooq Ahmad Sofi had a shop near the Pyare Lal Handoo CRPF camp. Farooq Ahmad Sofi had rented the shop. The CRPF personnel were there in the bunker. This happened before the massive fire incident in the village. Someone attacked the camp and in retaliation the CRPF personnel fired at Sofi purposely and he died. Nisar Ahmad Akhoon (Malla), resident of Cheeni Chowk was killed in an incident of cross firing between CRPF [in a gypsy] and militants, Nisar and another person were caught and killed. This must have happened after the fire incident and before the year 1994/1995. I did not witness the firing but saw the bodies. This happened at Sherbagh hospital. Once I heard a fire shot. I saw Noor-ul-Amin Wani (Buhroo), resident of Ashajipora, Moominabad running. He had a shop in Sherbagh – he shut his shop and was running and then suddenly an army personnel from High Ground camp shot and he died. His father's name is Mohammad Amin Wani (Buhroo). He was the witness to this. He was 20-22. He died at the hospital. This was in 1994-1995.

19. Engineer Farooq Ahmad Khan, resident of Islamabad

In 1990, Muneer Khan was the DSP. He tortured my brother Mushtaq after he was arrested by the police. I was first arrested in 1990 because of my brother's role in militancy. At that time my brother had already been arrested and he was later bailed out in January 1990. He then became active with SLF. In March 1989, my brother went to Pakistan for training with a group of people and returned sometime in May/June 1990. In the summer of 1990, police personnel came to our house at night and arrested my father, Ghulam Qadir Khan, my uncle Abdul Rashid Khan, my cousin, Salim-ul-Altaf Khan and me. We were blindfolded and were taken to the old airport at Gogo Land camp, Srinagar. We could hear the airplanes flying above us. Muneer Khan, was the DSP at that time, but I don't know if he was directly involved in this. We were directly taken to Gogo Land camp and not to the camp at Khanabal. We were detained at Gogo Land camp for about 10 to 12 days and were beaten mercilessly. When we were picked, my uncle wasn't even wearing his pyjamas. He was without his pants for the whole period of our detention at Gogo Land camp. None of the army officers came forward while we were beaten. Only the lower ranked personnel beat us. Our blindfolds were not removed during the entire period while we were there. We were continuously tortured and were sometimes given food. We were kept in a dark room and had to climb 30/40 steps to go to the bathroom upstairs. We were tortured every day and were asked about my brother's whereabouts. Finally after about 10 to 12 days at 3pm or 4pm in the afternoon, we were dropped off near the bund on the by-pass and were asked not to remove the blindfolds. We waited for some time and could hear the vehicles moving on the road. We removed their blindfolds and realized that we were on the by-pass. We had no money, but we boarded a bus, while my uncle was still without his pants. In the bus, we met a few acquaintances who let us take their seats. That year I had finished my engineering and had just started my job at a unit of the department of PHE at Bijbehera.

My brother was arrested again in 1990 on the second or third day of Eid, some 20 days after I had been arrested along with the other members of our family, at Sangam. There was routine checking and he was arrested under suspicion. He was taken directly to the airport, near Gogo Land, which had BSF presence. He was tortured. Officers/IB came and met him. MI also came and met him. He had been identified. I don't remember any names. Until he was identified, he was beaten for about 15-20 days. He was detained at Gogo Land camp for about a month and was then transferred to Hariniwas for another month. There he was tortured

by CRPF and someone with the surname "Dar" from CIK. After that he was taken to Kot Bhalwal for a month and under PSA was moved to the Udhampur jail. He was then released on 8 March as a part of a kidnapping deal - Nahida Soz abduction, along with a person named Shakeel and a few other men.

On the day of Nahida Soz's abduction – my cousin Muzaffar Ahmad Sheikh, my father Abdul Rashid, me and some local boys were arrested by CRPF again from Srinagar and taken to Hariniwas. Generally, they didn't wear uniforms or name plates during interrogation. We were at Hariniwas for nine days and were beaten continuously. They asked us about my brother's whereabouts. During this period we were also taken to a house for two days in Shivpora, Srinagar – not M4 – but a different house. Some SLF members had abducted Nahida Soz – Hilal Baig, Tahir Sahibb, Sidiq Sahib, and Mohammad Yaseen Bhat – chief commander. At Hariniwas, many officers came and interrogated us, but I don't remember their names now. No administrative officers came. We were released when my brother was released. My brother was released at Ali Kadal and was received by the organization. Nazir Siddiqui had been the mediator. After this incident, my brother was an active member of the organization. Later, it became Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen.

At that time, alongwith my family I had shifted to our present residence. Police and CRPF used to come to the house. This continued till 1994. My brother was injured in group clashes with HM. HM had said that there would be talks but then they shot him. I don't know who fired at him, maybe Farooq Baba or Mast Gul. He was taken to the District Hospital and then to the Bones and Joints Hospital at Barzulla.

In 1993 my brother and some people abducted Doraiswamy. I was on Amaranth yatra duty and when I got home that night, my father, my cousin Muzzaffar Sheikh and I were arrested by the police. My cousin was picked up from another house. We were all taken to M4 at Shivpora. Police was present at the time when we were arrested but not in M4. Mehmood-ur-Rehman, Governor's advisor came, as did Wajahat Habibullah to meet. The DIG at that time was P.S. Gill, and he also came to meet me. I was not tortured but was beaten in the beginning. They subjected me to questioning. They wanted me to connect with them. They kept saying that you would get a promotion and were offering money. Wajahat Habibullah was saying this too. I was there for 52 days. This was the same time as that of the abduction. This was counter-kidnapping by government. I knew that these were people from the administration.

On 23 May 1996, SOG personnel arrested me again. I was a duty magistrate for the parliamentary elections then. My car was parked outside. The Ikhwan came inside and asked for my car. Tahir had sent those people. They took the car. Only a small number of people owned cars in those days. People preferred scooters because of the fear of the Ikhwan. Normally they would not ask for the car but on that day they politely said Tahir needs the car for one hour. I waited for them to return my car, but they didn't show up until the department jeep came and I decided to leave. When I reached home in the evening, I got a call from them. They said take your car from Khanabal Camp. Liyaqat himself had called. I took an auto and when I crossed the Khanabal Bridge, I was stopped. I don't know who that person was. They had been watching me and asked me to take the car. But I couldn't see my car. They said go ahead and get it. As I got down from the auto, asking about the car, someone came from behind, blindfolded me and put me into the gypsy. I was taken to the SOG camp near the petrol pump. A couple of people in civil clothes kept saying that your car will be here soon. Half an hour later one man came in a khan dress with a shawl wrapped around his body. He started shouting and said that how come this person is here and not dead. Later I realized that he was Farooq Khan, an SP. Then I was put onto the floor and beaten for an hour or two. Farooq Khan was also beating me. He put me in the gypsy physically and took me to Cargo, Srinagar. I was taken upstairs to a huge hall and was water boarded there. SP Farooq Khan came along to Srinagar. He had come from Srinagar in a white ambassador with 10-12 gypsies. After waterboarding me the whole night I was hung upside down. That night they didn't ask me anything. Farooq Khan said you had planned to kill me in a car blast today. I kept denying. However by this time a bomb blast at Lajpat Nagar, in New Delhi had taken place and some people in Gujarat had been arrested namely, Mohammad Ismail Baba, 55 years old who had come from London, and Abdul Rashid from Azad Kashmir. An engineer from Ahmedabad, Gujarat was also arrested in connection to the Lajpat Nagar Blasts. Abdul Gani Goni was also arrested and is still detained. Javed Junior from Srinagar in Khankhah mohalla was arrested as well. They were linked to Islamic Front but were not linked to the blast case.

Farooq Khan kept asking me, who is responsible for the blast at Lajpat Nagar. I saw an old classmate, a sikh boy in the hall there as well. Till I was being beaten he did not come forward. I was tied to a huge pillar in the hall. I was handcuffed and my legs were tied as well. There was a huge number of CRPF personnel in that hall – around 40 or more, it looked like a barrack. Later, my classmate walked up to me and sat down. He was being friendly and asked me about what had happened. He said I can't do anything. They are taking you to Delhi tonight. At that moment I asked for a cigarette. My classmate borrowed a Beedi from the CRPF and helped me smoke it. He also asked for tea and helped me drink that as well. It would have been 4 or 4:30 in the afternoon. He apologized and said if there is something, you should tell them. I said there was nothing. Then at 6 pm I was taken to the airport. Fareeda Behenji [a Hurriyat leader] was also there. In the night I could hear a woman screaming at the Cargo. Fareeda Behenji had also been tortured. Many people were tortured there. I was brought in front of the other

people held at Cargo for identification. Fareeda was tortured a lot. Women's police was not present. Farooq Khan was there throughout.

There was a special aircraft in which Fareeda and I were taken to Delhi. We could see a number of gypsies at the Delhi airport. We were taken to Nikhil Kumar, the Delhi Police Commissioner. I was unable to stand, due to the torture that I had been subjected to. We were taken into a big building and then led towards a huge hall. I could tell from the aura that we were brought in front of a senior officer. We were made to stand in front of him, but as soon as they released me, I fell. They started beating me again. Nikhil Kumar said that it had come in the media and why the police were putting gallows around his neck. He asked them to get me medically checked up and be careful. He also said the game is up, tell us who is responsible for the blast here – and who are your people here. 5 to 8 minutes later we were taken to AIIMS. Fareeda Behenji's right arm was broken. I was also hurt as I had been bound by a rope. My left leg bore burn marks as they had put a hot iron rod on my left leg and inner thigh, while I was naked. Farooq Khan did it himself.

Later I was accused of many blasts. After 17 years I was acquitted in all these cases except for an Arms Act case where they had shown a recovery, which was in fact false. But I chose not to appeal.

20. Bilal Ahmad Mir, son of Lt. Ghulam Nabi Mir, resident of Hazratbal, Islamabad

Bilal Ahmad Khan, son of Mohammad Yaqoob Khan was killed by the personnel at the Larkipora camp. He was the head of Tehreek-ul-Mujahideen. Both father and son were killed in 1992/1993. Mohammad Yaqoob Khan was shot in the head and his throat was slit open. Larkipora some 8-10 kms from here, was cordoned off at 4:00 am. At the army camp in Larkipora camp, there was an army man from Nagaland. The operation was mainly led by the army from this camp, with support from the camp at Khundroo. Major Pama was at the High Ground Camp, who was known to be an infamous killer. At 12:00 everything was fine – they were taken to different places. Suddenly there was a signal and everyone became tense. Then they said the Sheikh community should be kept on one side–i.e. the sweeper class. Hazratbal mostly has people from Sheikh community. They had information that Bilal and Yaqoob were there. They started calling for Mohammad Yaqoob Khan. He went with them. He was brought back in an hour to pick up his son. They asked for his younger son– Zahid. Even he was taken. Then they came back again but neither of the family was there.

Abdul Aziz Sheikh from the same family was picked up as well. They were still looking for Bilal. Then they heard a grenade and an encounter began. For almost an hour, the encounter went on.

I was present at the site of the encounter. Major Pama came and said whosoever had to die, has died and whatsoever had to be burnt, has been burnt. Two houses were burnt that day, Bilal's and Mubarak Sheikh's [Bilal's Uncle]. Many people were beaten. A crackdown was imposed on the whole Mohalla. It is a densely populated area with 1500-2000 people. Almost all of them were beaten. The main gate of the Central High School was locked and women in great numbers came forward and opened it. When they came in they saw fire and father and son dead. Bilal had died while fighting. Later, they were buried. Bilal's head was slit after he was killed. He was thrown down from a building after being killed. But I didn't see his head detached from his body.

In the evening Bilal's brother Zahid aka Ayoub met me and asked me about what had happened after he was taken. Ayoub said that Bilal had told them that if there is ever a raid, there is a shelf in the house with vessels and the code is if you remove the third shelf he would fire. Ayoub said that when he was in the house the army told them to remove the vessel from that shelf. So the army knew the code. But Ayoub refused to do that. Iqbal Tak, son of late Mohammad Khaliq Taq, Abdul Rahim Bhat and others including Zahid were taken inside as human shields. They made Ayoub remove vessels from one shelf. He did, but refused to remove the vessels from the next one. But then he had to. Then it came to the third shelf. There were four army men inside and they tried to remove the third shelf and those 4 died. One escaped. From the five, three escaped. Zahid could not escape. But none of the civilians were injured. Zahid told me that when he went outside he saw that the father was already 50% dead. A huge stone was there and they were hitting the father's head on it. One whole side of his head was gone. First the father was killed. They told him to shout to his son and ask him to come down. But he refused. Bilal was thrown from the fourth floor after being killed. Major Pama was present at the site. There was a crackdown from 4 am to about 4 pm.

21. Soniya Amin, resident of Islamabad

Over the years, in addition to the forces in town, personnel from the camps at Larkipora, Khundroo and Khanabal used to come. At that time Islamabad town constituency would have had 100,000 people, while its 1.5 now.

I was not here from 1990-1994. During holidays there was mostly curfew and crackdown. My father ran a clinic and army officers would often come to buy medicines. One day Major Ravi Dewan and Captain Chauhan said they would come home for tea. They came along with Dr. Rajneesh Sharma, a BSF doctor, and Dr. Kanwaljeet Singh. My family had developed a cordial relationship with these officers, since they would often come to our clinic to buy medicines. They would come and would often share jokes with me.

In 2004 or so on Eid, I was in my room and the window was open. From the bunker someone shot at my window. It narrowly missed hitting me. Then personnel from the BSF came and apologized.

Crackdowns happened rarely. But once when there was once a crackdown, they raided my house. There were pre-47 magazine cases. My father and uncle were in the crackdown. My uncle was 65 years old. He was taken outside and made to bow down like a cock. I, my mother and my aunt were present there. My uncle kept quiet. He was kept outside. They called the Deputy Commissioner. The whole house was searched and locks were broken. We were not made uncomfortable as women. They finally left in the evening.

My sister's wedding was in Srinagar. We were in a car and the stereo was playing at full volume. Our car was followed by a mini bus full of the women from our family. At Khanabal checkpoint, on 6 October 1991, the army tried to stop us. We didn't stop but they stopped the mini bus behind our car. We returned. They brought people down and beat them. My sister was beaten as well. The boys were hit with gun butts. Then the elder women apologized. They pushed the women into the vehicle all the while touching them.

In 1995, I started a boutique, the first in the valley. At that time Ikhwan was at peak. A shopkeeper came on Wednesday night and told me that on Friday I will be asked to shut the boutique. I was scared. I asked him why. He said he didn't know but that Setha Gujjar had told someone and this had reached back to him. I informed my father and went to the Ikhwan camp at Janglat Mandi, Prem Nath's house. I looked for Setha Gujjar but he wasn't there. I was told that Liyaqat was there. I was 25 years old at that time. The person outside told me that I can meet Liyaqat. I went to the first floor on the right hand side there was a room like a court. He was sitting there at the front. There were about 8-10 people present in that room. Some of them were women in Burkha. The women were there with issues. Women were not a part of these camps. Liyaqat slapped man there a few times. He was apologizing. He had looked like he was beaten already. I first introduced myself. Liyaqat said he knows me as he used to be my senior. I explained the issue and soon after Setha arrived. Liyaqat scolded Setha. He said nothing would happen and called two-three days later and asked if I had any problem. I said no. However he called a few days later and asked for a Punjabi jootha [shoes]. I said give me your size and I will check. He called again about 10-12 days later and asked about the shoes. I said I don't have it. He then asked me to come to Khanabal since his wife was not there. I cursed him and shouted at him, he replied by saying that he would come to my house and teach me a lesson. I was scared. I didn't tell my family. I didn't go out for days together. He had a dreaded image. He used to go with an open car and ask girls to come in, but he didn't do anything to me finally.

My younger sister went to college in Islamabad. She was a no nonsense type. In 1995/1996, Tahir sent a marriage proposal. He sent a girl to her with the message that he wanted to marry her. She was very scared. Tahir had stopped the car at Mattan chowk and asked about his proposal. I called Tahir and spoke in a tough voice. He said I didn't do anything. But my sister stopped going to College regularly.

22. Bashir Ahmad Misgar, son of Mohammad Ibrahim Misgar, resident of Cheeni Chowk, Islamabad

When a massive fire broke out in our area, I used to reside at Cheeni Chowk with my family. That night 450 houses in our neighborhood including my own house was burnt. I then shifted to Moominabad Ashajipora along with my family. My brother Tariq Ahmad Misger was studying in 7th standard at that time. The fire incident enraged Tariq Ahmad. He left his studies and started linking himself with the militants and finally in 1994 formally joined HM. He didn't cross the LOC and got all the trainings here only. Once he joined the armed insurgency, Indian Army and Ikhwanis started harassing our family. My studies suffered as I was often picked up from college and home and tortured at different camps. Infamous Ikhwanis of the area, namely, Setha Gujjar, Ajaz Turray, Zahoor Ahmad Baba (Jackie), tortured me and my father. We were mercilessly beaten and rolled upon. Jackie and his associates even used to pull my father's beard and hurled all kinds of abuses.

Two of my brothers Mohammad Ashraf and Javaid Ahmad used to run a shop at Pulwama. They were arrested by army from there along with a relative who was present there at that moment and were taken to Dialgam Army camp, kept there for 7 days and were continuously beaten and tortured. My family was so scared that we used to keep our sister in hiding. I was also picked up by the SOG from JIC Khanabal and tortured there. An officer namely Rajesh used to be in-charge at JIC those days.

Whenever I try to count the number of times I was tortured, I almost lose the count, but it was almost twenty times by Ikhwanis, Army, and SOG. My father and I were even tortured at our own house by a joint party of Ikhwan and Army from Khanabal camp. Finally we left our home and migrated to Pulwama where we rented a house and lived there for almost two years. A year after we had left our house, it was blasted by a joint party of Ikhwan and Army. Two months later my brother Tariq Ahmad was martyred in an encounter on 2 December 1997. In this encounter an Ikhwani, Fayaz Ahmad Pushu was also injured. After that our entire family came back from Pulwama and we lived with my uncle's family for one year.

In 1998, the dreaded Ikhwani Jackie was killed. In retaliation the Ikwanis picked up three boys namely Shakeel Ahmad Sheikh, son of Ghulam Rasool Sheikh, resident of Shivpora, 25 years old, Haroon Rashid Misger, son of Lt. Abdul Rashid Misger, resident of KP road, and Ghulam Mohiuddin Dar, resident of Cheeni Chowk. Haroon and Ghulam Mohiuddin were released only after one day. However

Shakeel was kept in custody for 25 days and tortured continuously at Nazuk Mohalla School. After torturing him brutally, he was forced to name four others including me. The other three were Umar, Mukhtar Ahmad [both were previously associated with Ikhwan but had left recently] and Abdul Majeed Malihar from Kadipora. All four of us were taken to JIC Khanabal, tortured for a full night and released in the morning.

This was not all; my house was several times looted by Ikhwanis and army. Thousands of rupees were taken as ransom. Even the tin roof of our house was taken by Ikhwanis. Once economically a rich family was rendered in such a condition that we had to ask others to help us survive. I also remember the infamous first crackdown of my area in 1990 in which all the elders of Cheeni Chowk were gathered and beaten mercilessly. My father Mohammad Ibrahim Misgar was also one of the victims of beating.

23. Sheikh Ghulam Mohammad, son of Ghulam Mustafa Sheikh, resident of Islamabad

I used to work with the Kashmir Police since 1976 as a head constable, but was only involved in office work (Documentation) in SP's office and some other police stations. I never worked in the field. I was ideologically associated with Jamaat-e-Islami. Due to this association, I was always discriminated against and even harassed in the police department. The then SP Islamabad Ashkoor Wani would ask the police cadres to take wine, which I always disobeyed.

Methmu Chittergul Army Camp was adjacent to my village. There used to be a notorious army Major Raghu, associated with the camp, who often raided my house after 1990. They used to pick my brother Sheikh Ghulam Nabi and tortured him several times. When the frequency of raids increased along with my SHO, I appeared before Major Raghu at his camp. After several clarifications, the matter was apparently settled there.

Then on 14 July 1994, Pin Jinn, a dreaded and notorious renegade associated with MM Achabal camp arrested me. I was beaten and put in a jeep. While heading to some unknown destination, the Jeep was stopped by CRPF at Pehroo Camp. After spotting an injured person, i.e. me, in the Jeep, they asked me about the situation but I was not able to speak. They then detained the MM renegades along with me for three hours. After a long conversation between Pin Jinn and the CRPF officer there, we were allowed to go. From there they took me to Kehribal where they were searching for some Master Mateen. On not finding him, Pin Jinn fired in the air and pressurized me to handover some weapons and locations of some hideouts. I was neither having any weapon nor was I aware of any militant hideout. I was then taken to MM camp at Shehlipora Achabal where people from my village had already gathered, demanding my release. Pin Jinn fired in the air, dispersed the people gathered there. I was kept there for four days, beaten, tortured and abused continuously. On the third day in their custody, they tied me to a mini-bus. They threatened to kill me if I didn't pass on the information and weapons. On continuously expressing ignorance, I was almost beaten to death. I was then asked to work for them, which I didn't agree with and finally they released me after four days of an ordeal.

After that I left my job fearing continuous harassment from the renegades. I voluntarily retired from my services in 1997. Till 2004 I was at home and used to attend the programs of Jamaat. But in 2004 I formally joined Tehreek-e-Hurriyat led by Syed Ali Shah Geelani and presently I'm working as its Sadr- i-Tehsil (Tehsil president).

During 2008 elections I was arrested for participating in the election boycott campaign. Moreover the army raided my house during the night, left a bag with some weapons. In the morning during the crackdown searching of my house, they took the bag and filed an FIR 7/25 against me in which I was bailed later by the court. In recent Assembly elections I was again arrested on 09 November by the Police Station Uttersoo and kept for 12 days at Police Station Achabal.

24. Witness A, resident of Islamabad [The witness has requested anonymity and therefore all identifying information is withheld]

I can testify to the death of a person named Mohammad Munaf Baig, a teacher in Islamia Hanfia School. On 25 September 1989, there was some function in the school and on the same date Shabir Shah was arrested. Protests were carried out in Lal Chowk, Islamabad. The protests continued for days. On 29 September 1989, a local police constable Alif ud Din of Sadder police station shot at Mohammad Munaf Baig in his right eye and he bled to death on spot. His friend Ghulam Nabi Misger tried to pick up his body but when he approached the body he was also shot. One more person Shahjee tried to pick the two dead bodies and he was also shot. Ghulam Nabi Misger, Shahjee along with the deceased Mohammad Munaf were taken to the hospital. But the latter two also died on the way to the hospital. They were shot at about 10:00 am. After they died, the police was not giving the dead bodies to the families. Then at about 04:30 pm the dead bodies were handed over to the families.

In January 2011, I was arrested by Islamabad police while I was in Srinagar. First, I was taken to Kothi Bagh Police Station for 3-4 hours and then was shifted to JIC Khanabal. There, at about 10:00 am I was first stripped and kept in a dark room for about 2 hours. After that I was taken out of the room and taken to the office of SP (Operations) Zahid Malik. There was one more officer in the office namely Reyaz Punjabi (ASI probably). In SP Zahid's office they switched off the lights and SP Zahid asked Reyaz to shoot me. Then SP told Reyaz to put the gun down and asked him to leave the office. After that SP Zahid sipped some alcohol. He started questioning me for some time. After that he called Ram

Das and Tariq to take me out of the office. They took me to the torture cell and made me sit on a chair and tied me to that chair. Zahid ordered his men to beat me with bamboo sticks. I was beaten for half-an-hour. I was made to bow down and a stick was put inside my rectum and was kept there for 10-15 minutes. I was hung for 30-45 minutes. After this I was made to lie down and a roller was rolled over me. The torture continued till 03:00 am and then I was put in a dark room. I was bleeding through my rectum. On the next day I was shifted to Sadder Thana for two days and then was booked under PSA.

25. Arshid Sultan Bhat, Son of: Mohammad Sultan Bhat, resident of Kadipora

My family supported Jamaat-e-Islami and in 1995 Ikhwanis namely Tahir Fuf, Liyaqat, and Nana Malpori started raiding our house, asking for my father Mohammad Sultan Bhat's whereabouts.

In April 1995, the BSF of Sherbagh camp passed through and people ran away due to the threat. The Ikhwanis were also there but everyone thought that the Ikhwanis are militants and as the BSF passed through the same road people thought that some untoward incident will happen. After some time when the BSF went away, I came back to check what the matter was. Meanwhile Ikhwani Tahir came near me and took me to Kochak Building. Those days the Ikhwanis used to stay at Kochak Building. I was in 12th grade then. In the Kochak Building, I identified many Ikhwanis like Nana Malpori, District Commander of Ikhwanis, Shabir Badoori. I was beaten by Liyaqat and Nana Malpori by the butt of their guns for almost an hour. After this they took me out with the intention of killing me but Shabir Badoori took me with him and released me. The Ikhwanis kept asking me about my father's whereabouts.

When I reached home, I decided to leave the house and stayed at my relative Ijaz Ahmad's house at Verinag. My father was already away from the house as he used to work at Pahalgam in the Horticulture Department. We stayed at Verinag for two years and came back in 1997. After coming back the Ikhwanis again started to harass my family. I approached my neighbor Mohammad Khalil's family, as his daughter was engaged to Tahir Fuf and requested them to ask Tahir not to harass me and my family. After that the Ikhwanis did not harass me as much as before, but wherever they saw me, they would extort money from me.

Four to five months later, I gave a grenade to my friend Mohammad Saleem. I had received this grenade from my friend Javaid Ahmad. Saleem was arrested by the Ikhwanis and when he was tortured he showed them the grenade and told them that he had received it from me. On the same night the Ikhwanis raided my house and dragged me out. Saleem accompanied the Ikhwanis and I was asked if I knew Saleem and from where I had gotten the grenade. I told them that I had received it from Javaid Ahmad who was then affiliated with HM. Setha Gujjar beat me up on the roadside, then took me inside my house and told my father that if he comes out of his house he will be killed by them. My mother was also slapped by one of the Ikhwanis.

In 2002 or 2003 an Ikhwani named Jameel Gos was shot by some unknown gunmen outside my house. Jameel received some bullet injuries. As a result I was picked up again outside my house and was taken to JIC Khanabal. At JIC Jameel told Ramesh that I had shot him. Jehangir along with other Ikhwanis tortured me and removed my clothes and kept me hung for more than an hour. Electric wires were connected to my ears and fingers and I was electrocuted. After that I was made to sit on a chair and a roller was used over my legs. There were a few SPOs and Ikhwanis who tortured me. I was kept in JIC for three days and then was moved to Police Station Sadder and was kept there for seven days and was released thereafter. They did not lodge an FIR against me.

26. Ameena Bhat, wife of Ghulam Mohammad Bhat, resident of Islamabad

On 27 October 1990, curfew was imposed in the area and a few CRPF personnel were ambushed by some militants and in retaliation CRPF opened fire and sprinkled gun power over shops and many houses and fired upon them. As a result more than hundred houses burnt that night. As the fire spread from one house to the other, my son Ruheel Bhat escaped from his house and tried to get out of the area. Ruheel was 15 years old then and attended a Jamaat-e-Islami school. Ruheel was shot at Shirpora, which is 1 km away from our house at about 4:00 pm in the afternoon. The areas which were cordoned off are: Cheeni Chowk, Reshi Bazar, Achabal Bus stop, Ganjiwara, Janglatmandi, Dewa Colony, Malakhnag, Hazratbal and Shirpora.

His dead body was brought by the local police to Reshi Sahib Shrine at Reshi Bazar. Huge crowds of people collected the dead body and carried out the funerals. Three boys were killed on that day: Ruheel, Sajad Ahmad Bhat, son of Ghulam Mohammad Bhat, resident of Kadipora and a boy from Cheeni Chowk.

Ruheel's death led his father, Ghulam Mohammad Bhat to join HM and work for them. When he was an active militant with HM, Army, Ikhwanis and CRPF raided our house many times. One Ikhwani was identified as Setha Gujjar. Ghulam Mohammad Bhat was staying out of the house at Pahalgam. Then after some time he was arrested and was kept for two years in Central Jail Srinagar.

27. Altaf Hussain Shah (Baba), son of Mohammad Yusuf Shah, resident of (then) Hazratbal (now) Bilal Colony, Janglatmandi, Islamabad

Possibly in 1991 my brother Farooq Ahmad Shah

went to Pakistan for arms training. He was with Ansaarullah [a militant organization]. He stayed there for 3 years. When he came back, he joined the HM and was active for 1 or 2 years. On 25/26 August 1995, he along with 4 other militants were martyred in Monghal [2-3 kms from Cheeni Chowk].

Personnel from the Badami Bagh Cantonment were informed by an unknown person and they killed my brother. Before his martyrdom, Ikhwanis picked up my father and took him to Mattan Adda Camp. There he was tortured by Tahir Fuf for several days. Twenty days later my father got a chance to escape from the Mattan Adda camp. I was also taken to Khundroo army camp where I was badly tortured. I was given electric shocks. They kept me there for 17 days. From Khundroo army camp, I was sent to JIC, Khanabal. I was kept there for 5 days and later released.

We migrated to Aakhran [20 kms from Hazratbal] and stayed there for 2 months. When my brother was martyred, we came back to Hazratbal. After my brother`s martyrdom, my mother became mentally retarded.

28. Nisar Ahmad Bhat, son of Ghulam Qadir Bhat, resident of Sarnal Payeen, Chiken Mohalla, Islamabad

On 15 August 1997, there was a grenade attack on the house of Idrees Baba, a notorious Ikhwani, by unknown persons. However, the explosion didn't cause any injury to the Ikhwani or his family.

Two days later, on 17 August 1997, Ikhwanis along with CRPF and army cordoned off my house. They asked me to call my brother. Once my brother Showkat Ahmad Bhat came out of his room, he was taken away by the raiding Ikhwan party.

The Ikhwan party was led by Tahir Fuf, who threatened my family that we will get him back dead in half-an-hour. Other Ikhwanis were Sameer Darzi alias Babloo, Nana Malpori, Setha Gujjar, Liyaqat, Abbas Bangali, Junaid Dantar, and Roop Changa. These Ikhwanis entered our house and I could identify them because all were inhabitants of Islamabad and were known to me. Tahir Fuf, Nana Malpori and Liyaqat were the top line commanders of this Ikhwani group. Army and CRPF just cordoned our house outside, and I am not aware of the camp and battalion of the CRPF and BSF.

Actually when Idrees was attacked he gave Showkat's name as the person behind the attack on his house and he led these Ikhwanis to pick him up. He was taken to the Ikhwan camp at Kadipora. At the headquarters he was beaten and tortured. He was 17 years old then. Next day on 18 August, my father along with Rehman Khar, who was on friendly terms with Idrees, and I, went to Idrees's shop. At the shop my father requested Idrees not to kill him but Idrees slapped my father. I retaliated and slapped him back and told him if he will kill my brother I will kill him and his comrades. Then Idrees said that he will not kill Showkat, but will only punish him. Then he was beaten and tortured there.

A few days later Showkat was shifted to JIC/SOG camp Khanabal, where ASP Operations Ramesh Kumar Jala tortured him. We also visited the SOG camp and requested R.K Jala to release Showkat. He told us that if we can get the bail he will release Showkat. We got the bail within a few days and visited the camp. There R.K Jala tore the bail and didn't release Showkat. He was kept in the SOG camp for six months.

After this, he was booked under PSA and was taken to Kathua District Jail and was kept there for six months. From Kathua he was moved to Rangreth Camp for six months and then to Central Jail Srinagar. Finally he was released after 2 years imprisonment. He appeared in his matriculation examination in Khanabal JIC/SOG camp. After he was released he continued his studies and passed 12th grade boards.

He joined Tehreek-e-Hurriyat and started working there as library in charge at their office on K.P road, Islamabad.

In 2004 when Safdar Beg of National Conference was killed, many boys from our area were picked, including my brother. He was again booked under PSA and was imprisoned for one and half a years at Kot Bhalwal. He was released probably in 2005-2006 when government released youth who were booked under PSA.

In 2006, my brother was appointed as a private teacher in Wanpoo School. A few days later a grenade explosion took place at Cheeni Chowk. On the same night at about 11 pm – 12 am Ikhwanis and SOG personnel came to our house and picked Showkat again and took him to the SOG camp at Khanabal. This time it was Tahir Fuf, SOG Ramesh, DSP Operations Harmeet Singh. He was released after 8-10 days.

In 2007, three officers of SOG came to our house in the night at about 12:00 midnight. It was Ramesh, Farooq and Parviaz. These three were known to me. I came out and they asked me about Showkat. Showkat was in Jammu those days for medical treatment as he was unwell. I told them that Showkat is in Jammu. Ramesh told me to call him and tell him to appear in Islamabad court as he is summoned by the court. I called Showkat and Ramesh spoke to him, Showkat told Ramesh that he will be back in 4-5 days. Ramesh told him till he will come back they will take me. They disconnected the phone and picked me and took me to SOG camp at Khanabal for 5-6 days. In the camp I was beaten mercilessly and was asked to produce my brother Showkat. I was kept naked and beaten with sticks. Once Parvaiz, while asking about my brother kicked me on my chest. Ramesh and Farooq were also with him. They forced me to be a witness that my brother was a militant. Then they took me to the office of ASP Javiad Iqbal Matoo and I was used as a witness in front of him that Showkat is a militant.

On 5 August 2007, Showkat was going towards Leazbal area, and at Leazbal he was picked by some unknown persons who were in civilian clothes and taken in a maroon Sumo. The locals of Leazbal told me this. In half an hour his dead body was found at Barakpora. Two farmers who were working in a nearby field that time told us that they saw that a boy was brought there by police in uniform and the boy was shot dead.

29. Abdul Majeed Zarger, son of Abdul Khaliq Zarger, resident of Feroz Shah Mohalla, Bijbehara.

In September 2005, army of 3 RR Khanabal camp Headquarters cordoned the area around my house at about 05:30 am. Army was informed by Ikhwani Tahir Fuf that there are some militants in my house. The army first sent local residents of the locality to my house, to tell them to get out of my house and assemble in the compound. After the household people went out from the house, army along with Tahir Fuf entered the house. Tahir Fuf searched all the rooms himself. He asked my wife about the militants. My wife replied saying that there were no militants in the house. Army and Tahir Fuf broke windows and doors of my house and threw the bedding outside in the compound. He also cut the landline connection and electricity of the house. Then the army took me to JIC Khanabal.

On the same night army came again to my house and asked about my son namely Showkat Zarger. Showkat worked as a guard in a park, and on that night he was on duty. Army somehow came to know about this and he too was picked by the army from the park and taken to JIC Khanabal.

At JIC, both of us were tortured by a person called Kaka Battaa in the camp. We were hung upside down and were beaten there. Showkat was released after a few days whereas I was shifted to Mattan police station for 15 days after four days in JIC, and then to Central Jail Srinagar. From Central Jail I was taken to the Islamabad court and booked under PSA. Then I was shifted to Kot Bhalwal and was kept there for one year. Finally I was released a year later.

30. Shuja Hussain Rafiqui, son of Ghulam Mohi-ud-din Rafiqui, resident of Bakshiabad, Islamabad

On 4 January 1993, while going to school I saw that a few vehicles of the army stopped there and came out of their vehicles along with a renegade alias Sham Commander, resident of Naibasti. I knew him as he worked with Al-Jehad earlier. He had surrendered and was now working for the army. We had once been together in action against the CRPF. The army had stopped the vehicle because Sham Commander had identified me as a militant. The army picked me up and took me in a vehicle to the High Ground Camp and in those days there used to be 4 RR army. At the camp Sham Commander asked me about the fight against CRPF, in which both of us were involved and forced me to admit that I was a militant.

I was then tortured by Subedar Sujan Singh along with his personnel. My whole body was electrocuted, including my private parts. I was also beaten with a rope and a roller was rolled over my body. My legs were also stretched and my body was trampled by many army personnel. This torture continued for 2-3 hours. I asked for water, Sujan Singh urinated in front of me and asked me to drink it. Two days later my family came to the camp and requested them to release me. I was released.

However after being released Sujan singh was still after my life and wherever he saw me, he used to ask me where I was and sometimes slapped me as well. Sujan Singh visited my school many a time to check whether I was in school or not.

After a period of 5-6 months Sujan Singh picked me again for no reason and took me to Khanabal Camp. R.S Kataria [probably Lieutenant Colonel] was also with Sujan Singh. A renegade Vit Gani, resident of Malakhnag had informed the army that I used to be with the militants. This time around I was tortured for the whole day, my body was rolled for hours and was electrocuted. This time I was kept there for one day only and was released in the evening. After this incident, Sujan Singh was still after me.

Once, Sujan Singh asked me to work for him. I refused to do so. Sujan Singh told me that he will arrest me. I replied saying that if you have any evidence against me of being a militant then you can arrest me. They continued harassing me till 2005. It stopped thereafter.

31. Nazir Ahmad Zarger, aged 40, son of Bashir Ahmad Zarger, resident of Dangerpora, Mattan chowk, Islamabad

In 1993 the area was cordoned off by personnel from the RR camp but I don't know which battalion they belonged to. Major Pradhan was the Commanding Officer of the Khanabal camp. He was not present there during the cordon. I came to know about him in the camp. After being picked up I was taken to Khanabal camp. There was a renegade with the army whose face was covered and I couldn't identify him, but he had informed the army that I was a militant.

It was the month of January or February when I was picked up along with 11 other boys and were made to stand in the compound of the camp, in the snow. We were stripped there and were beaten too. We were kept outside for 2-3 hours. After this, all of us were taken to a single room. It was hard for 12 of us to adjust in that small room. After a while in the room we were stripped again and our private parts were electrocuted, wooden logs were rolled on our bodies, and we were beaten mercilessly. Our legs were stretched by the army personnel. This torture continued off and on for 10 days.

Major Pradhan, the then Commanding Officer was the one who was ordering his personnel to torture us. Many a time we were tortured in his presence. Two or three days later, in the camp, during torture, I was hit on my head with a spade by one army personnel and I bled profusely. The blow caused serious head and brain injury, which resulted in stammering.

After a period a few of us were shifted to the Old Airport camp, at Rangreth, Srinagar. We were tortured brutally. My legs and abdomen were burnt. They put burnt polythene on our bodies. We were kept there for more than two months.

In 2008 and 2010, I was again harassed by the army. They used to come to my shop as well as to my house to see what I was doing. They kept a close eye on me and once my neighbors took me to another locality as they also felt that the army might kill me. The army used to be near my shop and house in civilian clothes.

32. Witness E, resident Islamabad District [The witness has requested anonymity and therefore all identifying information is withheld]

I have been detained multiple times since 2002 till date. First, in 2002, I was picked by Jammu and Kashmir Police from my house on the allegation of having links with the militants and was taken to Police Station Sadder. I was kept there for about a week and released after. Money was also taken from me for my release.

In November 2004, one early morning, I was picked up. Many youth from our area had been picked up at that time because of the attack against Farooq Abdullah in the locality. I was taken to JIC and was straight away put to torture on the orders of Harmeet Singh, DSP, SOG. Like all the detained youth, I was beaten, and hung upside down. I was kept naked, tied to a rope and was given electric shocks to the genitals and toes and a roller was rolled over my legs. The torture was being supervised and carried out by ASI Kaka Ji alias Kaka Batta, SOG and SI Ramesh, SOG.

I was tortured for 4 hours and then was thrown into a cell and kept there for 7 days. I was asked to accept responsibility of the attack but pleaded my innocence and also paid bribes. Finally I was released from the JIC.

In December 2004 an escort of DSP Harmeet Singh got killed. My house was cordoned and surrounded by SOG and Ikhwanis. Then Kaka Ji arrested me along with others. We were taken to JIC and beaten and kept there for 2 days, then we were sent to Police Station Sadder from there and we were released the third day.

Again, in March 2005, I was picked up from my house by Kaka Ji and other SOG men and taken to JIC, where I was once again tortured severely under the orders of DSP Harmeet Singh and Ashiq Bukhari. I was given electric shocks, roller treatment, and was hanged with my hands tied behind my back. As a result of this round of torture I was unable to move my hands and became handicapped. This torture continued for 24 hours. I was accused of having the weapons of a militant outfit. Then after three days I was sent to Sherbagh Police Post and then to Sadder Police Station Islamabad. There I was kept for 13 days, and eventually booked under PSA, and then sent to Kot Bhalwal Jail, Jammu. I served many months in jail and was released in 2006.

After my release, I was first taken to Police Station Sadder, Islamabad, then to CIK Humhama, Srinagar then again to Police Station Sadder and only then finally released.

At the end of 2006 another detention order was made against me but it was "negotiated" and settled in lieu of money. I was again apprehended in 2011 and detained for 15 days for alleged stone pelting. In 2013, I was detained by Jammu and Kashmir Police from Sherbagh Post and taken to JIC. On the same day I was sent back to Sherbagh where I was kept in lockup for 5 days. I was then taken to CIK Humhama, Srinagar for a night and brought back to Sherbagh and eventually released on Eid. This detention was for my alleged role in HM's poster campaign, for which there was an FIR filed.

Throughout this period, I was subject to severe torture physically as well as mentally and also traumatized along with my family. Even after being cleared of guilt in the court cases, I am under scrutiny and am called to the Police Station every once in a while.

33. Mohammad Shafi Ahanger, son of Ghulam Nabi Ahanger, resident of Reshi Bazaar, Islamabad

In 1993, January, I was arrested by personnel of 2 RR Khanabal Camp. At this time the "catch and kill" operation was ongoing. A crackdown was imposed in our area and I was at my home. Along with the other men from the locality we gathered outside in LalChowk as ordered. At that time I had left Muslim Janbaz Force. It was an officer known as George (operational name) and Sujan Singh, who were commanding then the personnel during crackdown.

The inhabitants of the area were assembled at Lal Chowk, Islamabad. Approximately 9 persons were taken by army on that day including me. Javiad Ahmad Raga, Mushtaq Ahmad Raga, Nazir Ahmad and five others along with me were taken at about 12:00 pm by army to Dak Bangalow camp of 2 RR. When we reached the camp we were first kept in grounds of the camp. There, we were beaten by sticks. Each boy was beaten by 8-10 army personnel for 2-3 hours. After that we were all taken to a room in the camp. Then, they took us one by one from the room to the interrogation cell. When I was taken to interrogation cell, I saw Sujan Singh seated there and was commanding his personnel to torture us. He himself beat me many times. I came to know his name in the camp through another army personnel who was of a good nature and some times

use to give us tea. I don't remember his name now.

At 7 pm in the torture cell, I was first stripped. They made me lie on the ground and tied ropes to my legs and hands. They rolled an iron roller on my body and few army personnel used to stand on the roller to put their weight on me. Then they applied electric shocks to my private parts, until I fainted. After this they put a cloth over my face and took me to the bathroom and put my head in the water tank. They also put electric wires in the water tank in order to give me further electric shocks. One army personnel stood on my back so that I could not remove my head from the water tank. I was administered electric shocks by Sujan Singh himself.

I was taken back to the room at about 11 pm, and for 3-4 hours there was no more interrogation. At about 02:00 am we woke up on hearing noises from outside. 30-40 army personnel entered into our room. They were drunk and dragged us out, stripped us and dragged us on the snow. George was one among these army personnel who were torturing us. They beat us by sticks, and forced us to do "Kaanpakdi" [squats holding ears—punishment for school children]. My abdomen was cut with a knife. It was an 8-9 inch wound. I was then taken for medical treatment.

This torture continued for 10 days, on and off. I was released after 15 days. On the last day I was told by an army officer that they are going to kill me. They placed a Pheran over my head and took me to the Police Lines. They did not return my wallet and wrist watch. On the same day I was released from the Police Lines. The Police informed my family to take me home. After I was brought home, I was terrified to go outside the house. I was not able to walk because of the torture. I also couldn't continue my studies and dropped out due to my imprisonment and torture.

After five months I was arrested again, probably by army personnel from the High Ground camp. They cordoned our house and picked me again and took me to the house of some Kashmiri Pandit, near our home and tortured me there. They beat me severely and on the same day I was released at the post office. My cousin Mudasir Ahmad Ahanger living nearby saw me in a pathetic condition when I was released and took me home. After this torture I was again confined to my bed for 5-6 days before I was able to walk.

In 2008, I was arrested by Sherbagh Police Station, SHO Irshad in a stone pelting case and detained for 2 days. I was arrested while doing stone pelting but the SHO Irshad accused me of hurling a petrol bomb on Police Station Sherbagh.

In 2011, I was again picked by Ali Mohammad of the police and others and detained at Sadder Thana for 10-15 days on the basis of a 2010 stone pelting case.

34. Mohammad Iqbal Shah, resident of Moominabad, Islamabad

On 07 September 1994, at around 09:00 am, 2 RR, army cordoned the area of Leazbal Government Quarters, where we were living then. My son Ishtiyaq and his comrade Ghulam Nabi Lone were both in the quarters. Ghulam Nabi had visited our quarters on that very morning to meet Ishtiyaq. Personnel from 2 RR who cordoned our quarters picked up both of them. I don't know whether the army was aware about their affiliation with Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen or whether they had been picked up because of their affiliation. Ghulam Nabi was taken to a different room in the quarters itself and they were beaten and tortured in separate rooms. Ishtiyaq was beaten in front of me and I was witness to army men cutting his flesh with knives and feeding it to the army dogs, who were with them, but I cannot identify by name which army personnel did this. But, it was Major Ravi Dewan, Major Yousuf Khan (operational name), Subedar Ratan Singh, who were in charge then and this whole operation happened under their orders. The three officers were known to us as they were the in charge of the town. They were from High Ground Camp 2 RR. Large number of army men cordoned our house. They took away a lot of household goods as well as electronic gadgets, which we deal with in our business.

After the crackdown, first the army took Ishtiyaq and Ghulam Nabi Lone to Mattan Chowk and dragged them publically on the road here. Then they were taken to the post office, for some time and then finally to Khanabal Camp. Their dead bodies were found dumped in Cheetar village, Islamabad. The dead bodies were found at 2:10 pm of that day at Cheetar Village. A common FIR no. 298/94 was filed by us for Ghulam Nabi Lone and Ishtiyaq's death at police Station Islamabad.

In the village Cheetar, the villagers told us that they were threatened by the army to say that there was an encounter in which the boys were killed. The Army claims that Ishtiyaq and Ghulam Nabi ambushed them when the army was on a search operation in Cheetar Village, due to which an encounter took place. A fake encounter was staged there and it was claimed by the army that the cross firing took place between army and the two boys in which the boys were killed.

On the 40th day ceremony of Ishtiyaq's death, army personnel from 2 RR came to our house, picked me up and tortured me. They put a knife against my throat and threatened to cut it. There were lot of people watching this who had come for the 40th day ceremony of my son Ishtiyaq. I was bleeding from the throat and mouth, as they beat me as well. There was an officer called Singh Sahab, whose full name is probably J.D. Singh, present with them. I pleaded with him not to kill me and they finally released me. The allegation on that day was that militants had escaped through the way of our house.

35. Atif Hassan Sheikh, son of Ghulam Hassan Sheikh, resident of New Colony, Hazratbal, Islamabad

On 31 May 2006, a group of school children from Kupwara were taken on a picnic by the army at Wular Lake. The students were put on board on army boats, but the boats were overloaded - if the boats were meant for 10-12 persons the army put 20-25 students on each boat, due to which one of the boats capsized, and 15 students drowned in and died.

Syed Ali Shah Gilani gave a call for protest over this incident. On 02 June 2006, there were protests by people of Islamabad town. I was a college student then. I was leading the protest procession. When the procession reached Khanabal, twenty four boys were arrested by Police Station Islamabad. Liyaqat was the SHO at the time. While 23 of the arrested boys were released on the same day I was kept in custody for 22 days without any FIR being filed. Finally I was released on 24 June.

In 2006, Yasin Malik started the campaign of Safar-e-Azaadi. I was arrested again on the next day of the procession. I was arrested from my house by personnel from Islamabad Police Station and kept in custody for 7-8 days. After that I was under the constant surveillance of CID and also repeatedly called by police to appear before them in the Police Station. This continued till 2008. Whenever there would be any shut down call or any procession by pro-freedom parties I would be arrested for that day.

On 25 August 2008, there was the call for Lal Chowk, Srinagar Chalo. On that day, at about 02:30 am army and SOG raided my house. Tahir who was then working with Territorial Army was also with them. They knocked the door, and when I came to open the door someone either from the SOG or army grabbed me by my hair and dragged me out. Tahir threatened me saying that he will not let me live this time. My father didn't allow the army and SOG personnel to take me away. Tahir Fuf then called SHO Bashir saying that my father is not allowing them to arrest me. The SHO himself came to our house, and my father handed me over to his custody. I was taken to the Territorial Army camp, which is in a Kashmiri Pandit's house. I was kept there for eight days, and thereafter released.

On 30 December 2008, I went to meet my fiancé along with my friend Ubaid. I was picked on the way by the local police. I was taken to central jail Srinagar. I was released after two and a half months. Meanwhile my father approached the police station for getting the report for my release on bail. There Duty Officer Khanday told him "don't ask for the report otherwise your son will be booked under PSA." Ultimately, I was released.

I got married on 17 May 2009, Friday. Then on 21st May, which is also the martyrdom anniversary of Abdul Gani Lone, Mirwaiz Moulvi Farooq and the martyrs of Hawal, I was again arrested by the Sadder Police Station, and detained for eight days. On the same night of my release, Asiya and Nelofar of Shopian were raped and killed, and I was arrested again on the next day. This time I was kept in custody till 11 June 2009. On 18 June 2009, four youth of Baramulla were killed by SOG and on the next day I was arrested again for about 50 days. I was released on 12 August 2009.

On 1 December 2009, I was arrested again and was taken to Central Jail Srinagar. I was questioned about my friend Ubaid who had left Kashmir. I was told by Duty Officer Amit of Janglatmandi police post that if I produce my friend before the police, I would be released. On 5 January 2010, I was released. After my release I went to Jammu along with my family to escape the harassment, and we came back in April. On the same day I received a call from Duty Officer Janglatmandi police post to appear in the police post. I went there with my father. Parvez was the then Duty Officer. He told my father to permanently leave our home. On the same night when I was sleeping he came to the house, and informed me that I have been booked under PSA. I was booked for protesting the martyrdom of Zahid Farooq. But I was in fact then in Jammu. I was sent to Central Jail on 16 April 2010. After three days, I got bail and was released.

On 21 June 2010, there was a shutdown because of the killing of Tufail Matto. On 22 June 2010 there was a strike call by Masarat Alam. I also led a protest, but there was no stone pelting. On the next day I was at my shop when I was arrested by police and sent to JIC Khanabal. There I was tortured by SOG personnel Ram Lal. I was hung upside down, my private parts and other parts of my body were given electric shocks, and a rod was inserted in my rectum. I was kept naked during the entire torture. I was kept in JIC for four days and then I was sent to Cental Jail Srinagar.

On 7 July, I was booked under PSA for "provoking people" and was sent to Kot Bhalwal Jail, Jammu. On 5 December 2010 the PSA order was quashed by the Court but I was not released for a while. Meanwhile my wife gave birth to a baby girl. But the child died as my wife was in depression because of my frequent detentions.

On 7/8 November 2011, it was Eid-ul-Azha and a protest took place at Janglatmandi, Islamabad. During the protest 36 police personnel got injured. On the next day police raided my office at KP Road branch of HDFC bank. I was arrested and I lost my job as well. On 12 February I was released.

On 18 February 2013, when Afzal Guru was martyred, I was arrested again by SHO Islamabad Ishfaq Alam.

I am detained every time when ever there are any protests or any killing. Now whenever I receive a call from police, I have to appear before them.

36. Ishfaq Ahmad Kotwal, son of Mohammad Rafiq Kotwal, aged 32, Actual resident of Lal Chowk, Islamabad, Presently resident at Moominabad.

In 1992, there was a fire at my house. There were militants present at my house. There was a blast in our area. A rocket was fired from our area into the cricket stadium. The whole Mohalla left the locality and moved to the Dantar area. The army, possibly 2 RR came to the locality from Khanabal camp. The whole mohalla of around 20 houses were burnt down. The houses burnt included the house of my father's cousins: Nazir Ahmad Kotwal, son of Mohammad Ismail Kotwal, Mohammad Iqbal, Ghulam Qadir Kotwal, Mohammad Ishaq, Mohammad Younis Kotwal. The houses of Ghulam Qadir Malik, Bashir Ahmad Bhat, Ghulam Qadir Bucktoo, Manzoor Ahmad Malik, Zahoor Ahmad Malik were also burnt. At that time there were two camps – Khanabal and High Ground. Personnel from High Ground never moved from the camp. Only Khanabal camp moved for encounters etc. In 1991 too two mohallas were burnt. On 27 October 1990 perhaps around 200 houses were burnt in Malakhnag and Cheeni Chowk, because militants had fired on the army from the area. One army person was killed. No civilians were killed during the burning of the locality. Usually civilians were informed about the attack in advance. BSF was also involved but I am not sure from which camp.

In 1994, when I was 12 years old I was detained by RR. This was my first arrest. I was taken from my home because I was friends with Tariq Ahmad Misgar, an HM Commander, [he was killed on 17 January 1997 in Dantar in an encounter. It was a fake encounter. Army and Ikhwan were involved. Tariq was arrested by army from Dialgam]. Tariq was 22 years old then. I used to also help him around a bit – get him food etc. After my arrest I was taken to Saddar police station by the police. I don't know who was the SHO then, but, others say it was Sonaullah. I was not beaten or tortured. I was kept in lock up for two days at Sherbagh Police post. I was alone in the lock up. I was given food and was not mistreated. I was released through appeals from my family members.

The next time I was detained was in 1996, and maybe at the time 7 RR was posted in Moominabad. There was a camp in the same location where now there is an IMI girls school. It was election time. We used to play cricket on the ground in Moominabad. One day, while playing cricket the ball bounced onto the road and accidentally broke the glass of an army vehicle. I was taken into the camp. No one else from the group was taken as I was the one fetching the ball from the road. I was tortured at the camp. There was an officer, who was called "CM". CM was a Subedar. He was infamous in the area. CM himself beat me, with sticks. He beat me the whole day in the camp out in the open. Other army personnel were watching. He finally left me at 4:00 pm. My neighbors came and released me.

Then, I was picked up again in 1999, at Verinag. I had gone to Verinag to recover some due payments for our family's crockery business. The RR camp located there [Noioora Camp] arrested me. Then there was army there but now it is a CRPF camp. At that time there were also Ikhwan present in that camp. The reason for my arrest was that Mohammad Iqbal Kotwal alias Usman Kotwal – nickname Kaka Kotwal was an Al-Jehad Commander of Islamabad and was my cousin. Another cousin, Javed Ahmad Kotwal was also in Al-Jehad. Kaka is alive, but Javed was already dead. Another reason was also because I had close contacts with Tariq Misgar. One of the Ikhwan operating from the camp then was Aijaz [he was killed sometime after this]. I was taken inside the camp and handed over to the army, by the Ikhwan. I was tortured by army personnel. The methods of torture included, removing my toe nails, burning my back, beatings on the back. They also stuck a heated needle into my penis. I was made to sit on a lit stove. They placed a "blue lamp" on the heels of my feet. I was released on the evening of the same day. I didn't tell my family what had happened immediately, and applied some first aid on my own on my injuries. Later, I felt dizzy and went to district hospital for treatment. My family members found out about the torture through the doctors at the district hospital. I was then taken to Soura Hospital where I was admitted for treatment for one month. After I was released, I had to lie on my back in bed for 9 months. I was confined to only one room for 9 months. I got bed sores as well. A medicated sheet was brought from the hospital. I started improving, and regained my mobility gradually. Policemen from police post Sherbagh used to come to the house and ask me questions. Policemen from Sadder police station used to also come. I used to be regularly called to the camp for marking my "attendance".

In 2005, on Eid-ul-Fitr there was a fight in Sherbagh. Two boys fought and a policeman intervened. I questioned the policeman who hit one of the boys. The policeman went in and called some other police post Sherbagh personnel. They came out from the police post, took me in and beat me very badly. A friend took me home by auto. I don't remember who was the Duty Officer then.

On 9 August 2008 another incident took place at the start of the protests about the Amarnath land row. This was in June. There was a procession, then there was lathicharge by police followed by stone pelting by the crowd and firing at the crowd by SOG. Three people were seriously injured. The SOG was involved. The Duty Officer of Sherbagh police post was Parvaiz at the time. I was fired at, and my right leg was injured by a rubber bullet. Ishfaq Ahmad Bhat and Atif were also injured. There was a case registered against me.

Another FIR was filed against me in 2009 in a separate incident involving an attack on a masjid. Sections used were 148, 149, 197, 336, 427 RPC etc. However after that I was not arrested in relation to this FIR.

In 2010, the Mona Lisa sex scandal was exposed. There was a photo studio called Mona Lisa where Tahir was involved in making pornographic films on CD. The studio was owned by Pinta Parray, but Tahir was fully

involved in the whole business as Tahir had contacts with the army. The films were being made for the army, and the women were also sent to the army personnel. Young women were being brought there and pornographic films were being made using them. This was going on since 1998. About 30-40 girls were involved, most of them were doing it by their own will, but some of them were trapped into it when they approached the Mona Lisa studio. Pinta Parray was blackmailed by one his employees about this and so he approached Tahir and asked him to kill the salesman.

On 4 June 2010 during protests and stone pelting against the Mona Lisa scandal I was caught by the CRPF. I was beaten on the street itself. I fell unconscious. I was taken to the Saddar police station and then to the district hospital. I remained in coma for one month. People thought that I had been killed. A crowd gathered at the hospital to ensure police did not take me away. The police deployed a cordon at the hospital. Then the police conducted an attack on the hospital. The police had come from police lines. Duty Officer Parvez was commanding them. Many hospital patients were injured in the raid. I was taken to SKIMS, Srinagar for treatment. I could not talk for about 3 months after that.

In September 2010 when there were protests against the burning of the Quran I protested too and again, I was fired at. Officer Rani, DSP of CRPF of Animal Husbandry office, Sarnal was brought in to control crowds. The bullet grazed my right leg. I went to someone's house and got some medicine for my injury. I stayed in a house in a village and administered the medicines myself, without going to a hospital. I then went home after four days. But the injury did not heal fully and in 2012, it suddenly started leaking lot of puss and blood. I used to occasionally get stitches put on the wound but the stitches kept coming off. Finally I was taken to Soura hospital for treatment. I had surgery and I was admitted for three months and then my leg got better.

I have travel restrictions imposed by the court. Once in 2013 I was heading to Jammu but I was caught by Banihal Police and brought back. I have been wearing a support belt from last two years around my back for spinal support, due to the chronic pain.

37. Manzoor Ahmad Bhat, aged 32, son of Abdul Rashid Bhat, resident of Sarnal, Islamabad

On 12th Ramadan in 2004, I was picked up at Kralyar new market by DSP Harmeet Singh who was accompanied by army. I was at this place with my Sumo vehicle. On my arrest DSP Harmeet Singh told me that I have connection with militants. I was straightaway taken to JIC Khanabal, Islamabad. At around 1:00 am the SOG personnel including one personnel namely Kaka Battaa took me into the interrogation. I was forced to remove my clothes, my hands were tied on my back and also legs were tied. Then I was made to lay down on the floor, then the personnel started to beat me with bamboo sticks particularly on the bottom of my foot. Then beaten on shoulder. Then they brought electric circuit; one wire was put on my penis and another on my foot. Then I was electrocuted. Further, an iron roller was rolled over my both legs. Three personnel on each end of the roller were trampling my legs down. This was done for the whole night. On the same night at about 2:30 am SP Ashik Bukhari came to the interrogation room. He was wearing a track suit; he was accompanied by some other personnel. Then DSP Harmeet Singh in the same room told Ashik Bukhari, "He is Meenu" (Meenu is my nick name). They had charged me of killing Safdar Beigh [MLA], police personnel, Mohammad Yousuf of Mattan and two Ikhwanis, Mohammad Amin Sadru and Mukhtar Khan. Ashiq Bukhari asked me about my involvement with HM outfit. Ashiq Bukhari, Harmeet Singh and Kaka Battaa accused me, that I was accompanied by Pakistan militants while killing above named persons. Even Ashiq Bukhari snatched a stick from one of his men and started to hit me. He was in the interrogation room for about half an hour during which he questioned me as well as beat me. While beating Ashiq Bukhari asked me to provide the gun and told me to reveal name of the HM commander. I replied that Shabir Ahmad Badoori was our commander. I was working for HM after receiving training for 3 year in early 90's. Even Harmeet Singh trampled my chest during the torture. Kaka Battaa inflicted most of the torture on me. Kaka Battaa that time was ASI but now I have heard that he has attained the rank of SHO [Inspector]. On the second day, I was again tortured, as nails of both of my toes were broken by repeated hitting with a wooden hammer. Then few days later again Ashiq Bukhari and Harmeet Singh took me out into their chamber and told me to provide information about Pakistani militant Babar and also asked for ammunition. But I pleaded that I have no such information. For about 25-days, I was detained and tortured at JIC Khanabal. Out of 25 days four days I was tortured severely. Harmeet Singh and Ashiq Bukhari were forcing the men to enhance torture so that they extract more information from me. There were three other persons who were detained with me at that time: Khurshid Ahad Lone, resident of Mazibagh, Mattan Chowk, Islamabad, Suhail Ahmad Din, resident of Mattan Chowk, Islamabad and Ashiq Narchoor, resident of Mattan Chowk, Islamabad. Suhail Ahmad Din's beard was plucked out by Kaka Battaa and other SOG men due to which he developed infection and puss.

Then after 25 days, all of us were taken to the army camp near JIC, by DSP Harmeet Singh. There some IB Officers questioned us and then in the evening Harmeet Singh took us back to JIC. Then we were there for 10 more days, during which they took photographs and prepared some documents and booked all four of us under PSA. Then I along with Ashiq Narchoor was sent to Kot Bhalwal jail, Jammu and other two were taken to Kathua Jail. No medical assistance was provided to us in JIC. Then we received help from our Jail inmates who were detained with us in Kot Bhalwal Jail. They provided us some medicines. After serving two years

detention, my detention order was quashed, but instead of releasing me, I was then taken by CIK people from Jammu to Baramulla Jail and then from Baramulla I was shifted to Srinagar Central Jail. Afterwards when my family brought release order to Srinagar Central Jail, I was taken by CIK personnel to Humhama Camp. There I was detained for one month. There they used to hold screening committee, which was deciding about the release of detainees. Then after one month I was shifted to Saddar Police Station, Islamabad. There I was kept for 3 months. The then SSP Gani Mir observed my file and directed my further detention. I was then sent to Central Jail Srinagar, where I was kept for 11 months under a fresh detention order. Then after my family used some influence, my detention order was revoked by the Home Department. Then again CIK personnel took me to Humhama, and there I was kept for 22 days after which I was shifted to Sadder Police Station Islamabad. Later, police station Sadder released me after 15 days time. I was released in 2007 in the last month. After I recovered I resumed my business and am running a service station.

In 2010, during protests, Division Officer of Police post Sherbagh namely Salim [SI, holding charge of second Duty Officer] picked up me from Mattan Chowk, and he bundled me into his Gypsy Car and took me to JIC, Khanabal. He told me that he arrested me on the direction of SP Operations, Zahid. Then SP Zahid told me that I have a pistol and pay for stone pelting. I pleaded my innocence and after one day I was sent back to police station Sadder. There I was kept for 15 days, and after 15 days I was released by the police. Even my face bone on the left side is dislocated as I was hit by SOG driver with his gunbutt during torture. The name of SOG driver was Manzoor, and he was perhaps from Banihal. Kaka Battaa was saying that his father has been killed by HM militants due to which he was violent against all detainees.

38. Kauser Parveen, daughter of Abdul Salaam Dar, resident of Larkipora, Dooru, Islamabad

My father was with the Jamaat-e-Islami as a normal member and he was a government employee.

On 21 March 1996, at night, around 10:30 pm, uniformed people came at the door. My mother, Zeba Begum, did not open the door. My mother had a light in her hand and the people told her to keep her light away. When they were misbehaving with my mother my father could not handle it. There were 10-15 of them. My mother asked them what they wanted including money. They had caught my father. My mother followed them till the gate and then they pushed her away with a gun. They had taken my father. My mother returned. Then they went to Jamaal sahib's house. My mother went to Bashir Ahmad Kuttay's house – he was working with the army. My mother asked him to help and he said we have to organize some light.

Meanwhile, Jamaal sahib was also taken away. All the villagers came out and went to the Larkipora camp. But, the persons captured had been taken away towards Fatehpur. We heard gunshots.

In the morning we saw the bodies. In addition to my father and Jamaal sahib, Abdul Rehman Bhat, a businessman, also from Jamaat, had been killed. He was from Fatehpur. My father used to do business with him as well. He was shot at home itself. My father and Jamaal sahib were killed close to the house and their bodies were thrown. My father was shot in the front – abdomen area. Jamaal sahib was shot in the mouth. We received ex-gratia and SRO-43 benefits.

The main accused in this case was Reyaz Tola a government gunman with the MM. My mother recognized his voice [as his face was covered] that night. Once, prior to the killings, at the end of January 1996, Reyaz Tola came to the house. Abdul Rehman and my father were at home. They said, there are all Jamaatis here. Reyaz Tola abused Abdul Rehman and said he would finish him. Ultimately he was pacified. They had lunch, took Rs. 10,000 and left. After this, Abdul Rehman and my father went to Jammu on work. They stayed there for 10-15 days. They returned and then in March the killings happened.

I had to marry my cousin brother also as there was no one else at home.

The army of Larkipora never intervened when my father was picked up. Not even when the gunshots were heard. They said it was a safety fire indicating some personnel had reached.

39. Bilal Ahmad Wani, son of Abdul Majid Wani, resident of Larkipora, Islamabad

My brother Mohammad Shafi Wani was used as human shield and killed. He was aged 22. This happened on 18 May 2001.

He had finished tuitions and come home. He ate and was getting ready for Friday prayers. Meanwhile militants were caught in Kaba Marg, a near by village. He said he would go for prayers. My mother was worried because there was firing going on in Kaba Marg. There was also camp close by and she was worried that the camp personnel would come. But he went anyway but returned. Then he decided to go and hide in the fields as the other boys were doing. As he was going, additional forces were coming from the Larkipora camp. I was also with my brother when the army personnel came by and picked us both up. There was a Sardar Major. 36 RR was around those days.

The encounter was going on along with Ikhwan from the Sadoora camp. Manzoor Kachru was one of the Ikhwani present. Also present were Abbas Kandroo [real name: Mohammad Abbas Sofi] who is now in Territorial Army, and Januk was also there.

As I said, the army stopped us. They said if you run we

will shoot. The following boys, besides my brother and me were picked up: Tariq Ahmad Rather, son of Mohammad Yousuf Rather, Bashir Ahmad Rather, son of Ghulam Hassan Rather, Reyaz Ahmad Rather, son of Mohammad Jabbar Rather. All of us were from Larkipora. I was 16 years old then.

We were taken to Kaba Marg in an army vehicle. There was a house there. They asked us to take explosives and keep it there. Two of the boys managed to escape this process. I went in and the militants said that if I was doing this under compulsion I should keep the explosives to a side. I did so. Then my brother was also forced by the army to go with the explosives. He went and left the explosives, at the same time the militants ran. Then the army started shooting. My brother died in this process. The explosives also exploded. One army man died as he was shot by a dying militant under the rubble. In addition the following militants died: Ghulam Rasool Wani, resident of Gund, Mohammad Amin Gani, son of Ghulam Ahmad, resident of Verinag and Manzoor Ahmad Dar, son of Mohammad Sultan, resident of Nassu, Badragund. Even after my brother died they tried to give me another bomb to take inside. But my mother who had come, fought with them and she took the bomb. The army people beat her and her left shoulder got injured.

We received SRO-43 and ex-gratia benefits. FIR no. 173/2001 was filed in police station Islamabad. There is also a document on record dated 24 September 2001 from the District Police Office Islamabad. This document states that three militants, one army official and my brother were killed. The case was closed with a challan against the three militants. Therefore, no action against the army.

40. Ghulam Nabi Dar, son of Mohammad Ramzan Dar, resident of Muniwara, Islamabad

In 1995, at around 5 pm, Ikhwanis of Islamabad came to my house at Muniwara. They had already taken Ali Mohammad Kumar from the village Behramshah from his Medical shop, which is 2 kms away from the village Muniwara. Ali Mohammad Kumar was the member of Jamaat-e-Islaami. They brought him along to my house and arrested me as well. Ikhwanis were around 20-25. I identified Tahir Fuf and Masrat Bilal. Masrat Bilal is now sarpanch of the village. They blindfolded me and took me in a vehicle. Villagers came out of their houses and tried to stop Ikhwanis so that they would not take me. Then Ikhwanis opened few aerial fires and managed to disperse the people. Both of us were taken to Achabal and were kept there in some house. On the first night only Ali Mohammad was tortured. Ikhwanis had taken one other young boy, a resident of Khanabal [name not known] and he was also been tortured. On the second day we were all taken to another house. I was not tortured or beaten. I was just forced to announce in public that we did not belong to Jamaat. Both Ali Mohammad and the young boy were tortured in a separate room so I do not know how they were actually tortured. I saw Liyaqat as well at Achabal.

On the third day all of us were taken to Shehlipora, where Ikhwanis had a camp headed by Naba Azad. There, Tahir demanded money from me. On the same day Masrat Bilal's father approached the Ikhwani camp Shehlipora along with other elders of the village to release us. Qazi Nisar also sent a letter to these Ikhwanis and recommended my release, as I was his friend. On the same day all three of us were first allowed to offer Friday prayers along with elders of the village. Then the young boy and I were released from there. But Ali Mohammad was taken back to Shehlipora and on the same night he was killed. Next day his dead body was found in a river.

In 2001, SOG raided my house. They were in three vehicles and took me to JIC Islamabad. I was kept there for one night. On the next day my nephew Abdul Gani [police personnel] and MLC Gul Rafiqui approached JIC and got me released. I was then accused of quarreling with villagers.

41. Statement by Nisar Ahmad Shah, resident of Nai Basti, Islamabad

Since 1994, Mushtaq Amad Shah, alias Shahbaz, had joined Ikhwan on the recommendation of Pakistan. Despite being an Ikhwani his family was never harassed by HM or any militant outfit.

On 25 September 1996, he was picked up by army [probably 15 Punjab Regiment] from the shop Radio World proprietor Ghulam Rasool Moori at Lal Chowk. It was three army trucks, which stopped in Lal Chowk and picked him. Now it is Hitz Restaurant. Ghulam Rasool Moori is the witness of his disappearance. On 27 September 1996, the family lodged the FIR in which Ghulam Rasool is a witness. Mushtaq was possessing weapon of Ikhwan when he was been picked up.

Then the family filed the case in SHRC and after seven years he was considered dead. Family was given Rs. 1 lac ex-gratia relief but no SRO-43 benefits.

The family also approached Ikhwanis but they also said they did not know where he was. Army came to the house many times for taking the statement of the family members. The family also went to Aishmuqam camp but the Commanding Officer there told the family to search for him in Islamabad. Reportedly Shahbaz quarreled with this Aishmuqam Commanding Officer a few days before as he killed two persons.

Once the family was called to Fatehgarh army camp and the Major there also enquired about Shahbaz from the family.

Once in 1995, I had met Sartaj. Sartaj asked me about Shahbaz. He said, "tell Mushtaq to take care of himself". He also asked me to tell Mushtaq to send him the Kukhri knife. After 3-4 days I met Sartaj again and I told Sartaj that Shahbaz did not send the knife but he said if you need bullets he can send.

In 1994, Shahbaz was in detention, and I went to meet him in jail. There he gave a letter to me and told me to give it to HM. In the letter it was mentioned that Setha Gujjar had surrendered and joined ikhwan. He also suggested in the letter to kill Setha Gujjar.

42. Zubair Ahmad Mir, son of Ghulam Hassan Mir, resident of Wagay Mohalla, Khanabal

In 2009, I participated in protest processions against the Shopian rape and murder case. FIR was lodged against me, but I was not detained. A chargesheet was made against me and the case was in the court for around one year.

In 2010, one more FIR was lodged against me for stone pelting and for burning a temple at Naibasti. The police raided my house many times to arrest me. But hid at different places. FIR was lodged in the month of July and since that month police of Sadder Police Station started raiding the house.

On 12 July 2010, my grandfather Ghulam Mohammad [80] was taken by police of Sadder police station when they could not find me. He was kept there for one night. He was asked there for me. No torture was done to him. He was released on the next day. Then I was arrested by Duty Officer Saleem, Sherbagh Police Post outside my house at around 11 am. I was taken to police station Sadder and was kept there for 10 days. Liyaqat Ali Khan was the then SHO. During my detention I was beaten by police many times. After ten days I was released on bail. But that case is still on going against me.

During participation in protests, I have been an eye-witness to three killings. First killing is of Maroof Nath alias Raju. Police followed him during stone pelting. He jumped into the river and then police fired tire gas shells and stones towards him and did not allow him to come out from the river. Then he died and his body was found after six days near Uran Hall Bridge, Batengu. DSP Noor Mohammad was also there when police was firing shells and stones towards him in the river.

After his body was found it was taken to the Martyrs graveyard. A large number of people were participated in the funeral procession. On the way to Martyrs graveyard, the police and CRPF stopped the mob at bus stand Islamabad. Police opened fire on the crowd, which resulted in many bullet injuries. Then the crowd returned and passed through Naibasti road. Then the funeral procession headed to the home of the deceased. When they reached Nanda Bazar near Ahle Hadees Masjid, police was already deployed there along with DSP Noor Mohammad. DSP ordered his men to open fire on the crowd. The first shot they fired hit Noor-ul-Amin Dacca, resident of Naibasti near temple. He received two bullets on his chest. Bilal Ahmad Najar tried to approach to the body to pick him but when he reached near the body he was also shot on his butt. Both were taken to District Hospital Janglatmandi. Noor-ul-Amin died on the way to the hospital and Bilal was referred to SKIMS. He was admitted there and died on the same night.

On 20 May 2015, police of Sadder police station raided my house. Sub-Inspector Mohammad Ashraf and Duty Officer Police Post Bus stand Tawseef Ahmad Mir raided the house. I was not at home. They took my brother Tariq Ahmad Mir [30] and kept him there for four days. He was not tortured. On the fifth day I handed myself over to the police station and in return they released my brother. Then I was kept for eight days in the police station under police remand. Then I was shifted to judicial lock up Sub-Jail Islamabad for four days. After getting bail I was released from the jail but was taken to CIK Humhama, Srinagar. There I was kept for two days and was interrogated. After two days CIK handed over me to police station Sadder again. Then after 4-5 hours I was released when family approached police station and requested SHO Adil Rashid to release me. Then I was released. FIR no 147/2015 was lodged against me under sections 120,121,147,34,13A RPC.

ANNEXURE 2
HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN AREA OF CASE STUDY - KHANABAL CAMP

CASES FROM ISLAMABAD TOWN AND ADJACENT AREAS

	NAME OF THE VICTIM	FATHER'S NAME	ADDRESS	DATE AND TIME OF CRIME	NATURE OF VIOLATION	PERPETRATORS: NAME OF THE AGENCY
1.	FAROOQ AHMAD KHAN	GHULAM AHMAD KHAN	KOTWAL MOHALLA	18-11-1990	KILLING	CRPF/BSF
2.	KHALID KAUSAR		AKINGAM	1999	KILLING	
3.	MUDASIR RASHID MAGRAY		ISLAMABAD		TORTURE	ARMY
4.	MANZOOR AHMAD BHAT	ABDUL MAJEED BHAT	ISLAMABAD	2004	KILLING	
5.	TARIQ AHMAD RAWLOO	SANAULLAH RAWLOO	ISLAMABAD	2001	KILLING	
6.	ISMAIL DAR		BRAKPORA	1995	KILLING	MUSLIM MUJAHIDEEN
7.	ALTAF GANAI	GHULAM NABI GANAI	BRAKPORA	1999	KILLING	
8.	MUHAMMAD SHAFI DAR	ABDUL SALAM DAR	BRAKPORA		KILLING	
9.	NAZIR AHMAD SHEIKH		BRAKPORA		KILLING	MUSLIM MUJAHIDEEN
10.	MUHAMMAD YASEEN DAR	ASADULLAH DAR	BRAKPORA		KILLING	ARMY
11.	GHULAM HASSAN GANAI	ABDULLAH GANAI	BRAKPORA	1992	KILLING	
12.	SAJAD AHMAD DAR	GHULAM AHMAD DAR	BRAKPORA	1996	KILLING	
13.	FAROOQ AHMAD DAR	ABDUL AHAD DAR	BRAKPORA	1993	KILLING	ARMY
14.	NAZIR AHMAD CHOPAN		BRAKPORA	1997	KILLING	
15.	JAVAID AHMAD MIR	MUHAMMAD MAQBOOL MIR	BRAKPORA, HANJIPORA,	2000	KILLING	
16.	ALI MUHAMMAD KUMAR		TEKEA BEHRAM SHAH	1995	KILLING	IKHWAN
17.	MANZOOR AHMAD WANI	MUHAMMAD ABDULLAH WANI	BUMTHAN	10/12/2006	TORTURE	ARMY
18.	MANZOOR AHMAD PAHALWAN	ABDUL GAFFAR PAHALWAN	CHEENI CHOWK	24-09-1992	KILLING	
19.	JAVAID AHMAD RAJA		CHEENI CHOWK		TORTURE	ARMY/IKHWAN

	NAME OF THE VICTIM	FATHER'S NAME	ADDRESS	DATE AND TIME OF CRIME	NATURE OF VIOLATION	PERPETRATORS: NAME OF THE AGENCY
20.	SHAHJEE	GHULAM NABI MANGNOO	CHEENI CHOWK	28-09-1989	KILLING	JK POLICE
21.	MUSHTAQ AHMAD GANAI	MUHAMMAD RAMZAN GANAI	CHEENI CHOWK	14-11-1991	KILLING	
22.	NISAR AHMAD AKHOON		CHEENI, CHOWK		KILLING	CRPF
23.	SAJAD AHMAD NAJAR		DANGERPORA	1997	KILLING	ARMY/IKHWAN
24.	MANZOOR UL ISLAM	ABDUL GANI	DANGERPORA	18-08-2004	KILLING	SOG/ARMY AT JVC BEMINA
25.	SAJAD AHMAD BHAT	ABDUL GANI	DANGERPORA	23-02-1993	KILLING	ARMY CUSTODIAL KILLING
26.	NAZIR AHMAD ZARGER	BILAL AHMAD ZARGER	DANGERPORA, MATTAN CHOWK	1993	TORTURE	ARMY
27.	MUHAMMAD MAQBOOL MALIK [JKLF]		DANTAR		KILLING	HIZBUL MUJAHEDEEN
28.	ZAKIR HUSSAIN BHAT	ABDUL WAHAB BHAT	DANTAR	1997	KILLING	
29.	SHOWKAT AHMAD GANAI	GHULAM NABI GANAI	FATEHPORA	2005	KILLING	
30.	SHAHNAWAZ AHMAD NAJAR	GHULAM RASOOL NAJAR	FATEHPORA	2005	KILLING	
31.	BASHIR AHMAD LONE	GHULAM HASSAN LONE	FATEHPORA	2005	KILLING	
32.	GHULAM RASOOL BHAT		FATEHPORA	2007	KILLING	IKHWAN
33.	RAJA BANO	W/O: ABDUL AHAD LONE	FATEHPORA	2003	KILLING	IKHWAN
34.	MANZOOR AHMAD KHANDAY	SANAULLAH KHANDAY	FATEHPORA	2003	KILLING	
35.	RIYAZ AHMAD WANI	GHULAM HASSAN WANI	FATEHPORA	2004	KILLING	HIZBUL MUJAHEDEEN
36.	ZULFIQAR AHMAD MIR	ABDUL AZIZ MIR	FATEHPORA	2005	KILLING	
37.	ABDUL REHMAN BHAT		FATEHPURA	1996	KILLING	IKHWAN
38.	ABDUL MAJEED ZARGER	ABDUL KHALIQ ZARGER	FEROZ SHAH, MOHALLA	2005	TORTURE	ARMY/IKHWAN
39.	NISAR AHANGER	ABDUL REHMAN AHANGER	GENERAL BUS STAND, ISLAMABAD	26-Aug-95	KILLING	IKHWAN
40.	GHULAM RASOOL NAJAR	ABDUL REHMAN NAJAR	GENERAL BUS STAND, ISLAMABAD	1995	TORTURE	ARMY

	NAME OF THE VICTIM	FATHER'S NAME	ADDRESS	DATE AND TIME OF CRIME	NATURE OF VIOLATION	PERPETRATORS: NAME OF THE AGENCY
41.	GHULAM RASOOL WANI	MUHAMMAD AKRAM WANI	GUND JAFFAR	1998	KILLING	
42.	MUHAMMAD AYOUB BHAT	GHULAM MOHIUDEEN BHAT	GUND JAFFAR	1997	KILLING	
43.	GHULAM MUHAMMAD MIR		GUND JAFFAR	1996	KILLING	ARMY
44.	ABASS BHAT	GHULAM MUHAMMAD BHAT	HANJI DANTAR	2002	KILLING	HIZBUL MUJAHEDEEN
45.	BILAL AHMAD KHAN	MUHAMMAD YAKUB KHAN	HAZRATBAL, ISLAMABAD	3/091994	KILLING	ARMY
46.	SHABEER AHMAD SHEIKH		HAZRATBAL, ISLAMABAD		KILLING	
47.	ALTAF HUSSAIN SHAH	MUHAMMAD YOUSUF SHAH	HAZRATBAL, ISLAMABAD		TORTURE	ARMY
48.	MUHAMMAD YOUSUF SHAH		HAZRATBAL, ISLAMABAD		TORTURE	IKHWAN
49.	ATIF HASSAN SHEIKH	GHULAM HASSAN SHEIKH	HAZRATBAL, ISLAMABAD	25-08-2008	TORTURE	JKP/SOG
50.	MUHAMMAD YAKUB KHAN		HAZRATBAL, ISLAMABAD	1994	KILLING	ARMY
51.	FAROOQ AHMAD SHAH	MUHAMMAD YOUSUF SHAH	HAZRATBAL, ISLAMABAD	1996	KILLING	ARMY
52.	GHULAM QADIR BHAT		HUTMURA	1995	KILLING	ARMY
53.	MUHAMMAD AYOUB BANGROO	ABDUL SALAAM BANGROO	HYDER PORA	1/4/1990	KILLING	ARMY
54.	AADIL HUSSAIN TEELI		IQBAL MOHALLA		TORTURE	ARMY
55.	RUHEEL BHAT	GHULAM MUHAMMAD BHAT	ISLAMABAD	27-10-1990	KILLING	CRPF
56.	ER. FAROOQ AHMAD KHAN	GHULAM QADIR KHAN	ISLAMABAD		TORTURE	ARMY
57.	SAJAD AHMD MIR	ABDUL KUDOOS MIR	JANGLAT MANDI	29-09-1992	KILLING	
58.	BASHIR AHMAD MIR	ABDUL KUDOOS MIR	JANGLAT MANDI	21-07-1994	KILLING	ARMY
59.	GHULAM JEELANI BHAT	GHULAM HASSAN BHAT	JANGLAT MANDI	3/2/1993	KILLING	
60.	BILAL AHMAD GANAI	ALI MUHAMMAD GANAI	JANGLAT MANDI	2003	KILLING	BSF

	NAME OF THE VICTIM	FATHER'S NAME	ADDRESS	DATE AND TIME OF CRIME	NATURE OF VIOLATION	PERPETRATORS: NAME OF THE AGENCY
61.	ZAHOOR AHMAD GANAI	ALI MUHAMMAD GANAI	JANGLAT MANDI		TORTURE	ARMY
62.	CONFIDENTIAL	CONFIDENTIAL	JANGLAT MANDI	2010	TORTURE	JK POLICE
63.	SARTAJ AHMAD		K.P ROAD	1997	KILLING	ARMY
64.	ZAHOOR AHMAD WAGAY		KADIPORA, ISLAMABAD		KILLING	ARMY/IKHWAN
65.	ARSHID SULTAN BHAT	MUHAMMAD SULTAN BHAT	KADIPORA, ISLAMABAD	1996	TORTURE	IKHWAN
66.	SHOWKET AHMAD WAGAY		KHANABAL		TORTURE	IKHWAN
67.	ZUBAIR AHMAD MIR	GHULAM HASSAN MIR	KHANABAL	2010	DETENTION	JK POLICE
68.	MANZOOR AHMAD SHAIR	GHULAM HASSAN SHAIR	KHAWAJA MIR ALI MOHALLA	1/8/1992	KILLING	BSF
69.	KAISAR AHMAD WAGAY	GHULAM MUHAMMAD WAGAY	KHAWAJA MIR ALI MOHALLA, ISLAMABAD	31-05-1996	KILLING	ARMY
70.	MANZOOR AHMAD PAHALWAN		KHWAJA MIR ALI		KILLING	CRPF
71.	SHOWKET AHMAD WAGAY		KRUNGSOO	2006	KILLING	
72.	ISHFAQ AHMAD KOTWAL	MUHAMMAD RAFIQUE KOTWAL	LAL CHOWK	MANY TIMES	TORTURE	ARMY
73.	MANZOOR		LARAN		KILLING	
74.	FARHAT JAAN	ZULFIQAR AHMAD KHAN	LEAZBAL	1/4/1990	KILLING	ARMY
75.	MUHAMMAD ALTAF SHEIKH	GHULAM NABI SHEIKH	LEAZBAL	17-06-1991	KILLING	
76.	SHEIKH MUHAMMAD SHAFI[IKHWANI ALIAS K.K]	GHULAM AHMAD SHEIKH	LEAZBAL	30-06-1996	KILLING	
77.	MUHAMMAD ASHRAF MOORI		LEAZBAL	Oct-97	KILLING	
78.	ISHTIYAQ AHMAD LATOO		LEAZBAL	14-08-2010	KILLING	
79.	ABDUL QADIR	ABDUL RASHID	MALAKHNAG	6/5/1991	KILLING	ARMY
80.	FAYAZ AHMAD WANI	ABDUL RASHID WANI WANI	MALAKHNAG		TORTURE	IKHWAN

	NAME OF THE VICTIM	FATHER'S NAME	ADDRESS	DATE AND TIME OF CRIME	NATURE OF VIOLATION	PERPETRATORS: NAME OF THE AGENCY
81.	BILAL AHMAD WANI	ABDUL RASHID WANI	MALAKHNAG		TORTURE	IKHWAN
82.	FAROOQ AHMAD BABA	MUHAMMAD YOUSUF SHAH	MALAKHNAG	1995	KILLING	
83.	GHULAM RASOOL MISGAR	ABDUL GANI MISGAR	MATTAN CHOWK, ISLAMABAD	29-09-1999	KILLING	JK POLICE [STONE PELTING]
84.	ASHIQ HUSSAIN NARCHOOR		MATTAN CHOWK, ISLAMABAD	2004	TORTURE	SOG/ARMY
85.	MUSHTAQ AHMAD KHAN	GHULAM MUHAMMAD KHAN	MEHMAAN MOHALLA, ISLAMABAD	27-03-1992	KILLING	BSF
86.	ANSAR ALI [ALIAS PIN DOON]	GUL MUHAMMAD	MEHMAAN MOHALLA, ISLAMABAD	22-10-1993	KILLING	BSF
87.	MUHAMMAD MUNAF BEIGH	GHULAM AHMAD BEIGH	MEHMAAN MOHALLA, ISLAMABAD	29-09-1999	KILLING	JK POLICE [STONE PELTING]
88.	ISHTIYAQ AHMAD SHAH ALIAS DARLING	MUHAMMAD IQBAL SHAH	MOOMINABAD	7-09-1994	KILLING	ARMY
89.	GHULAM NABI DAR	MUHAMMAD RAMZAN DAR	MUNIWAR	1995	DETENTION	IKHWAN
90.	HASEENA AKHTAR	W/O: SYED MUSHTAQ AHMAD	NAIBASTI	22-10-1993	KILLING	BSF
91.	ALI MUHAMMAD AHANGER		NAID KHON, HARNAG		KILLING	
92.	BILAL AHMAD NAJAR	GHULAM MOHI UD DIN NAJAR	NANDA BAZAR		KILLING	
93.	MOHAMED AYUB PADDER (30 YEARS)	MOHAMMED RAMZAN PADDER	NANIL VILLAGE	25-4-1992	DISAPPEARANCE	ARMED FORCES
94.	BASHIR AHMED BEIGH (AGE- 40)	ASSADULLAH BEIGH	NANIL VILLAGE	25-4-1992	DISAPPEARANCE	ARMED FORCES
95.	SYED AHMED WANI (AGE — 22 YEARS)	KHAZIR MOHAMMED WANI	NANIL VILLAGE	25-4-1992	DISAPPEARANCE	ARMED FORCES
96.	MOHAMMED YAQOOB KHAN (AGE- 21 YEARS)	ALI MOHAMMED KHAN	NANIL VILLAGE	25-4-1992	DISAPPEARANCE	ARMED FORCES
97.	MOHAMMED YOUSUF RATHER (AGE-22 YEARS)	AMMA RATHER	NANIL VILLAGE	25-4-1992	DISAPPEARANCE	ARMED FORCES

	NAME OF THE VICTIM	FATHER'S NAME	ADDRESS	DATE AND TIME OF CRIME	NATURE OF VIOLATION	PERPETRATORS: NAME OF THE AGENCY
98.	MOHAMED AYUB PADDER (30 YEARS)	MOHAMMED RAMZAN PADDER	NANIL VILLAGE	25-4-1992	DISAPPEARANCE	ARMED FORCES
99.	BASHIR AHMAD BEIG		NANIL		KILLING	
100.	MAHAROOF AHMAD NATH	MUKHTAR AHMAD NATH	NATH MOHALLA		KILLING	
101.	IRSHAD AHMAD PARRAY	MUHAMMAD ASHRAF PARRAY	OLD EID GAH	30-08-2010	KILLING	JK POLICE
102.	SAJAD AHMAD KUNOO	GHULAM MUHAMMAD KUNOO	OLD MATTAN CHOWK	8/1/1996	KILLING	ARMY IN SRINAGAR
103.	FAROOQ AHMAD BHAT ALIAS MASALI		PAZMULLA	1995	KILLING	ARMY
104.	MUHAMMAD YOUSUF & 2 BROTHERS		PEEHRU, ISLAMABAD		KILLING	
105.	MUHAMMAD AMIN WAGAY	MUHAMMAD RAJAB WAGAY	PEESHU MOHALLA		KILLING	
106.	GHULAM HASSAN MIR	ABDUL RASHID MIR	KADIPORA, ISLAMABAD	1/4/1990	KILLING	ARMY
107.	ALTAF AHMAD SHAPOO		KADIPORA, ISLAMABAD	27-08-1990	KILLING	BSF
108.	MUFEED AHMAD SHAKHSAAZ	GHULAM NABI SHAKHSAAZ	KADIPORA, ISLAMABAD	2/7/1991	KILLING	
109.	GHULAM MUHAMMAD SHAH		KADIPORA, ISLAMABAD	5/4/1989	KILLING	
110.	TAHIR KHAN	KHWAJA GHULAM NABI KHAN	KADIPORA, ISLAMABAD	25-11-1999	KILLING	ARMY
111.	HILAL AHMAD NANWAI	KULI NATH	KADIPORA, ISLAMABAD		KILLING	BSF
112.	SAJAD TAHIR KHAN	TAHIR KHAN	KADIPORA, ISLAMABAD	21-08-1996	KILLING	IKHWAN
113.	ISHFAQ TAHIR KHAN	TAHIR KHAN	KADIPORA, ISLAMABAD	17-01-1997	KILLING	IKHWAN
114.	MUSHTAQ AHMAD MISGER	ABDUL AZIZ MISGER	KADIPORA, ISLAMABAD	1993	KILLING	
115.	HILAL AHMAD NASTI	ALI MUHAMMAD NASTI	KADIPORA, ISLAMABAD	1995	KILLING	ARMY
116.	AIJAZ AHMAD WAR		QAZI BAGH	1997	KILLING	
117.	MUHAMMAD AMIN WAGAY		QAZI MOHALLA		KILLING	
118.	DR. QAZI NISAR AHMAD	QAZI GHULAM AHMAD	QAZI MOHALLA	19-06-1994	KILLING	
119.	MUHAMMAD RAFIQ	MUHAMMAD AKRAM	QAZI MOHALLA	13-10-1994	KILLING	

	NAME OF THE VICTIM	FATHER'S NAME	ADDRESS	DATE AND TIME OF CRIME	NATURE OF VIOLATION	PERPETRATORS: NAME OF THE AGENCY
	MALIK	MALIK				
120.	FAROOQ AHMAD KHAN [AKA TAJAMUL]	GHULAM HASSAN KHAN	RAMPURA	1993	TORTURE	ARMY
121.	MUHAMMAD ASHRAF AHANGER	GHULAM MUHAMMAD AHANGER	RESHI BAZAR	20-08-1991	KILLING	ARMY
122.	MUHAMMAD AMIN DUKDOO	GHULAM RASOOL DUKROO	RESHI BAZAR	18-09-1991	KILLING	ARMY
123.	GHULAM NABI DHOBI		RESHI BAZAR	6/3/1994	KILLING	
124.	MUHAMMAD SHAFI AHANGER	GHULAM NABI AHANGER	RESHI BAZAR	1993	TORTURE	ARMY
125.	HAJI GHULAM RASOOL SHAH	GHULAM MOHI UD DIN SHAH	SADIQABAD	8/7/1990	KILLING	
126.	SHABEER AHMAD AHANGAR	GHULAM NABI AHANGAR	SADIQABAD	14-07-1990	KILLING	
127.	IRSHAD AHMAD QASID		SADIQABAD	21-08-1991	KILLING	BSF
128.	RIYAZ AHMAD WAGAY		SARNAL PAYEEN		KILLING	IKHWAN
129.	MUHAMMAD ILYAS WANI	GHULAM MOHI UD DIN	SARNAL	1/4/1990	KILLING	ARMY
130.	JAN MUHAMMAD SOFI		SARNAL		KILLING	ARMY/IKHWAN
131.	MANZOOR AHMAD BHAT	ABDUL RASHID BHAT	SARNAL	2004	TORTURE	SOG
132.	MUHAMMAD ALTAF GANAI		SARNAL BALA		KILLING	
133.	MUHAMMAD SYED NAJAR		SARNAL PAYEEN		KILLING	ARMY/IKHWAN
134.	NISAR AHMAD BHAT	GHULAM QADIR BHAT	SARNAL PAYEEN	2007	TORTURE	SOG
135.	SHOWKAT AHMAD BHAT	GHULAM QADIR BHAT	SARNAL PAYEEN	5/8/2007	KILLING	SOG/POLICE
136.	FAYAZ AHMAD LAYGUROO		SHAHEEDI CHOWK		KILLING	
137.	FAYAZ AHMAD LAYGUROO		SHIRPORA		KILLING	
138.	IRSHAD AHMAD KHAN		SHIRPORA		KILLING	
139.	GHULAM HASSAN		SHIVPORA	1995	KILLING	
140.	MUHAMMAD RAMZAN		SILIGAM	1995	KILLING	ARMY

	NAME OF THE VICTIM	FATHER'S NAME	ADDRESS	DATE AND TIME OF CRIME	NATURE OF VIOLATION	PERPETRATORS: NAME OF THE AGENCY
141.	PALI KHAN	MUHAMMAD KHALIL SHEIKH	T.B SHAH	1995	KILLING	
142.	JAVAID AHMAD	GHULAM AHMAD	T.B. SHAH	2003	KILLING	IKHWAN
143.	IMTIYAZ AHMAD ITOO	ABDUL AHAD ITOO	WATERGAM	29/06/2010	KILLING	JK POLICE
144.	MUSHTAQ AHMED BHAT	MOHAMMED RAMZAN BHAT	BUN DAILGAM, DISTRICT ISLAMABAD	14-4-1992	DISAPPEARANCE	C.R.P.F
145.	GHULAM NABI DAR	ALI MOHAMMED DAR	REDWANI BALA, ISLAMABAD	10-7-1994	DISAPPEARANCE	81 MOUNTAIN BRIGADE, ARMY
146.	MUSHTAQ AHMED SHAH	GHULAM NABI SHAH	NAI BASTI, ISLAMABAD	25-9-1996	DISAPPEARANCE	2ND R.R.
147.	MOHAMMED ASHRAF GANAI	LATE. MOHAMMED ISMAEL GANAI	NOWSHERA, ISLAMABAD	1-8-1994	DISAPPEARANCE	12TH B.N. B.S.F.
148.	SONAULLAH GANAI, ALAIS NISSAR (AGE-60 YEARS, RETIRED PRINCIPAL)	ABDUL RAZAK GANAI	HABAL PORA, BIJBEHARA	12-5-1994	DISAPPEARANCE	R.R
149.	MOHAMMED YOUSUF MALIK (42)	MOHAMMED AKBAR MALIK	KELLAR, BIJBEHARA, ISLAMABAD	IN THE NIGHT OF 7/8 MAY 1994	DISAPPEARANCE	PICKED UP IN A NOCTURNAL RAID PARA 9 COMMANDOS HEADED BY ONE ASLAM KHAN
150.	MOHAMMED MAQBOOL DASS	NOOR MOHAMMED DASS	WAGHAMA, ISLAMABAD	9-4-1994	DISAPPEARANCE	2 ND B.N. R.R.
151.	FAROOQ AHMED RATHER (AGE 35 YEARS- A POLIO PATIENT).	KHAZIR MOHAMMED RATHER	KHIRAM, NOWSHERA BIJBEHARA, ISLAMABAD	3 NOVEMBER 1990	DISAPPEARANCE	2 ND B.N. R.R.
152.	FAROOQ AHMED BHAT (AGE- 23 YEARS)	GHULAM MOHAMMED BHAT	NAID MOHALLA, BIJBEHARA, ISLAMABAD	1-12-1993	DISAPPEARANCE	1 ST B.N. R.R.
153.	NAZIR AHMED SOFI (AGE- 21 YEARS, STUDENT)	GHULAM QADIR SOFI	MEHAND, BIJBEHARA, ISLAMABAD	15 OR 22 OCTOBER 1993	DISAPPEARANCE	2ND B.N. R.R.
154.	MOHAMMED JAMAL		MEHAND, ISLAMABAD	15 OR 22 OCTOBER 1993	DISAPPEARANCE	2ND B.N. R.R.

	NAME OF THE VICTIM	FATHER'S NAME	ADDRESS	DATE AND TIME OF CRIME	NATURE OF VIOLATION	PERPETRATORS: NAME OF THE AGENCY
155.	MOHAMMED YOUSUF WANI(EMPLOYEE IN THE IRRIGATION DEPARTMENT)	GHULAM MOHAMMED WANI	ISLAMABAD	15-9-1993	DISAPPEARANCE	ARMY
156.	MOHAMMED SHABAN DAR (AGE- 32 YEARS)		DANDIPORA, ISLAMABAD	11-6-1993	DISAPPEARANCE	16TH B.N. RAJPUT REGIMENT, ARMY
157.	MOHAMMED RAMZAN MIR	GHULAM RASOOL MIR	SYED UDAIPORA, ISLAMABAD	5-10-1992	DISAPPEARANCE	B.S.F
158.	MOHD ALTAF AKHOON	MOHI-UD-DIN	NANIL, ISLAMABAD	AUGUST 1992	DISAPPEARANCE	ARMED FORCES
159.	SHABIR AHMED DARSI (AGE- 22)	GHULAM MUSTAFA	BIJBEHARA, ISLAMABAD	25-4-1992	DISAPPEARANCE	ARMED FORCES
160.	MUHAMMAD SHAFI GANAI	ASSADULLAH GANAI	ISLAMABAD	16 APRIL 1996	DISAPPEARANCE	ARMED FORCES
161.	TARIQ AHMAD	ABDUL GANI	COURTMOHALLA, ISLAMABAD DISTRICT	28TH AUGUST 1991	DISAPPEARANCE	SECURITY FORCES
162.	GHULAM QADIR GANIE (35) A FARMER BY PROFESSION	LATE SANAULLAH GANIE	BIJBEHARA, ISLAMABAD	26TH SEPTEMBER 1990	DISAPPEARANCE	CENTRAL RESERVE POLICE FORCE (CRPF)
163.	FEROZ AHMAD LONE	GHULAM MOHAMMAD LONE	SHAMSIPORA, BIJBEHARA, ISLAMABAD	31 AUGUST - 2001	DISAPPEARANCE	14 RASHTRIYA RIFLES
164.	SAJAD AHMAD LONE	GHULAM HASSAN LONE	SHAMSIPORA, BIJBEHARA, ISLAMABAD	31 AUGUST – 2001	DISAPPEARANCE	14 RASHTRIYA RIFLES
165.	GHULAM HASSAN BABA (A 45 YEAR OLD IMAM OF LOCAL MOSQUE)	ABDULAHAD BABA	AMAD WAGARD, ISLAMABAD	JULY 07-1994	DISAPPEARANCE	ARMY CAMPED AT AISHMUQAM
166.	NAZIR AHMAD MALIK	KHALIL MALIK	KHANABAL, ISLAMABAD	ENDING JANUARY 2003	DISAPPEARANCE	ARMY
167.	MOHAMMAD QASIM KHAN, 25	SATTAR-U-DIN KHAN	CHEGILPORA, CHATTERGUL, ISLAMABAD	2003	DISAPPEARANCE	HE WAS PICKED UP BY 7 RASHTRIYA RIFLES LED BY ONE MAJOR PIKEL.
168.	GHULAM QADIR BHAT, 16, EMBROIDER	MOHAMMAD AKBAR BHAT	SHAMPORA, MATTAN – ANANATNAG	NOVEMBER 1993	DISAPPEARANCE	NOT KNOWN (IN MAY 2008-

	NAME OF THE VICTIM	FATHER'S NAME	ADDRESS	DATE AND TIME OF CRIME	NATURE OF VIOLATION	PERPETRATORS: NAME OF THE AGENCY
						FATHER OF DISAPPEARED HAD SPOTTED HIS PHOTOGRAPH DURING A PHOTO-EXHIBITION (WHERE HE WAS LISTED IN THE MARTYRS COLUMN)
169.	SHABIR AHMAD BHAT (AGE-17 YEARS)	AMIR-UD-DIN	LAL CHOWK, ISLAMABAD	28-08-1991	DISAPPEARANCE	NOT KNOWN
170.	MOHD SHAFI KOTWAL	MOHD ISHAQ KOTWAL	LAL CHOWK, ISLAMABAD	28-08-1991	DISAPPEARANCE	NOT KNOWN
171.	GULZAR AHMAD MIR	ABDUL MAJEED MIR	BUMTHAN KATRAN, MIRBAZAR ISLAMABAD	02-6-1991	DISAPPEARANCE	ARMY
172.	MAQSOOD AHMAD BHAT	MOHD ABDULLA BHAT	YORKSHAIPORA, ISLAMABAD	20-05-1991	DISAPPEARANCE	SECURITY FORCES
173.	ABDUL GANI HAGOO		MALAKHNAG, ISLAMABAD	MARCH 1991	DISAPPEARANCE	NOT KNOWN
174.	MOHD RAMZAN MIR	GULAM RASOOL MIR	KADIPORA, SYED SAHIB, ISLAMABAD	14-12-1990	DISAPPEARANCE	B.S.F
175.	MOHAMMAD ASHRAF PARRAY	MOHAMMAD YOUSUF PARRAY	GOPALPURA KALAN	28 DECEMBER 2004	DISAPPEARANCE	HE LEFT HIS HOME FOR WORK AND SINCE THEN NOT RETURN BACK. A REPORT HAS BEEN FILED IN MATTAN POLICE STATION.
176.	MUSHTAQ AHMED KHAN - DIV. COMMANDER OF J&K IKHWAN (RENEGADES)		ISLAMABAD	27-9-1996	DISAPPEARANCE	ARMY
177.	MUSHTAQ AHMAD SHAH	GHULAM NABI SHAH	NAI BASTI, ISLAMABAD	25-09-1996	DISAPPEARANCE	ARMY

	NAME OF THE VICTIM	FATHER'S NAME	ADDRESS	DATE AND TIME OF CRIME	NATURE OF VIOLATION	PERPETRATORS: NAME OF THE AGENCY
178.	DR. RESHI			1994	KILLING	ARMY
			CASES FROM DABRAN VILLAGE			
179.	MAISAR AHMAD BHAT	MUHAMMAD AYOUB BHAT	DABRAN		KILLING	
180.	NAZIR AHMAD NAJAR	GHULAM RASOOL NAJAR	DABRAN	28-03-2003	KILLING	
181.	ABDUL MAJEED WANI	GHULAM NABI WANI	DABRAN	25-02-1997	KILLING	
182.	MUHAMMAD HUSSAIN NAJAR	ABDUL AZIZ NAJAR	DABRAN	28-07-1999	KILLING	
183.	BASHIR AHMAD KHAN	AMA KHAN	DABRAN	2000	KILLING	HIZBUL MUJAHIDEEN
184.	MUHAMMAD HUSSAIN GANAI	MUHAMMAD IBRAHIM GANAI	DABRAN	23-02-1997	KILLING	
185.	MUHAMMAD RAJAB DAR	ABDUL GANI DAR	DABRAN	25-12-1996	KILLING	
186.	MUHAMMAD SHABAAN GANAI	GHULAM AHMAD GANAI	DABRAN	25-12-1996	KILLING	
187.	SHUBI	W/O: MUHAMMAD YASEEN HAT	DABRAN		KILLING	
188.	MUHAMMAD YASEEN BHAT	GHULAM AHMAD BHAT	DABRAN	25-12-1996	KILLING	
189.	MUHAMMAD SULTAN BHAT	ABDUL GANI BHAT	DABRAN	1-07-1997	KILLING	
190.	MUHAMMAD ABASS BHAT	GHULAM AHMAD BHAT	DABRAN	31-06-2001	KILLING	
191.	SHOWKAT AHMAD BHAT	GHULAM AHMAD BHAT	DABRAN	31-10-1995	KILLING	
192.	JAVAID AHMAD BHAT	GHULAM MUHAMMAD BHAT	DABRAN	17-12-1993	KILLING	
193.	MANZOOR AHMAD BHAT	GHULAM AHMAD BHAT	DABRAN	FEBRUARY 1996	KILLING	
194.	ALI MUHAMMAD BHAT	MUHAMMAD RAMZAN BHAT	DABRAN		KILLING	

	NAME OF THE VICTIM	FATHER'S NAME	ADDRESS	DATE AND TIME OF CRIME	NATURE OF VIOLATION	PERPETRATORS: NAME OF THE AGENCY
195.	FAROOQ AHMAD BHAT	GHULAM MUHAMMAD BHAT	DABRAN	25-04-1994	KILLING	
196.	NAZIR AHMAD BHAT	GHULAM RASOOL BHAT	DABRAN	2006	KILLING	
197.	ABDUL QAYOOM BHAT	GUL MUHAMMAD BHAT	DABRAN		KILLING	
198.	MUHAMMAD YOUSUF PADDER		DABRAN	1997	KILLING	IKHWAN
199.	RIYAZ AHMAD GILKAR	MUHAMMAD SUBHAN GILKAR	DABRAN, ISLAMABAD	25-04/1994	DISAPPEARANCE	ARMY
200.	SHOWKAT DABRAN		DABRAN	1997	KILLING	ARMY
			CASES FROM ASHAJIPORA VILLAGE			
201.	ISHFAQ AHMAD SHAH	MUHAMMAD SALEEM SHAH	ASHAJIPORA	25-04-1994	KILLING	
202.	FAYAZ AHMAD DAR	MUHAMMAD AKBAR DAR	ASHAJIPORA	25-04-1994	KILLING	
203.	JAVAID AHMAD SHAH	GHULAM RASOOL SHAH	ASHAJIPORA	25-04-1994	KILLING	
204.	FAROOQ AHMAD RESHI	MUHAMMAD RAMZAN RESHI	ASHAJIPORA		KILLING	
205.	JAVAID AHMAD WAGAY	MUHAMMAD JAMAL WAGAY	ASHAJIPORA		KILLING	
206.	MUHAMMAD SHAFI WAGAY	SANAULLAH WAGAY	ASHAJIPORA		KILLING	
207.	MUZAFFAR AHMAD SHAH	GHULAM NABI SHAH	ASHAJIPORA		KILLING	
208.	MUHAMMAD AMIN SHAH [ALIAS RAYEES]		ASHAJIPORA	03-12-1997	KILLING	ARMY
209.	MUHAMMAD SHAFI KHAN	GHULAM NABI KHAN//AMA	ASHAJIPORA	1998	KILLING	
210.	RIYAZ AHMAD WAGAY	MUHAMMAD AKBAR WAGAY	ASHAJIPORA		KILLING	
211.	TAUSEEF AHMAD WAGAY	MUHAMMAD AKBAR WAGAY	ASHAJIPORA		KILLING	
212.	JANA WAGAY	GHULAM QADIR WAGAY	ASHAJIPORA		KILLING	
213.	GULSHANA	GHULAM HUSSAIN	ASHAJIPORA		KILLING	

	NAME OF THE VICTIM	FATHER'S NAME	ADDRESS	DATE AND TIME OF CRIME	NATURE OF VIOLATION	PERPETRATORS: NAME OF THE AGENCY
		WAGAY				
	ZAREENA	GHULAM HUSSAIN WAGAY	ASHAJIPORA	14-08-1994	KILLING	
214.	MANZOOR AHMAD DAR	GHULAM NABI DAR	ASHAJIPORA	05-08-1990	KILLING	CRPF
215.	ABDUL REHMAAN SHAH	GHULAM NABI SHAH	ASHAJIPORA	FEBRUARY 1991	KILLING	
216.	NISAR AHMAD DAR	MUHAMMAD RAMZAN DAR	ASHAJIPORA	09-01-1997	KILLING	
217.	MUHAMMAD SHAFI WAGAY		ASHAJIPORA		KILLING	MILITANTS
218.	BASHIR AHMAD KHAN	GHULAM NABI KHAN	ASHAJIPORA	OCTOBER 1996	KILLING	ARMY
219.	MUHAMMAD SALEEM SHAH	MUHAMMAD ABDULLAH SHAH	ASHAJIPORA		KILLING	
220.	ISHTIYAQ AHMAD SHAH	MUHAMMAD SALEEM SHAH	ASHAJIPORA		KILLING	
221.	MUHAMMAD SHAFI MIR		ASHAJIPORA		KILLING	
222.	AQIB HUSSAIN WAGAY	GHULAM HASSAN WAGAY	ASHAJIPORA		TORTURE	SOG
223.	SUJAAT UL ISLAM	ASHRAF BABA	ASHAJIPORA	29/06/2010	KILLING	JK POLICE
224.	NOOR UL AMIN WANI		ASHAJIPORA	1994	KILLING	ARMY[HIGH GROUND]
225.	ABID GULZAR KADOO	GULZAR AHMAD QADOO	ASHAJIPORA	6/12/2004	KILLING	
			CASES FROM BAKSHIABAD VILLAGE			
226.	MUHAMMAD SULTAN BHAT	KHAZER BHAT	BAKSHIABAD	26-06-1993	KILLING	ARMY
227.	DR. MEHMOOD		BAKSHIABAD	1996	KILLING	IKHWAN [SETH GUJJAR]
228.	KHALID MEHMOOD	DR MEHMOOD	BAKSHIABAD		TORTURED TO DEATH	ARMY - IKHWAN
229.	NISAR AHMAD BHAT	MUHAMMAD SULTAN BHAT	BAKSHIABAD	26-06-1993	KILLING	ARMY

	NAME OF THE VICTIM	FATHER'S NAME	ADDRESS	DATE AND TIME OF CRIME	NATURE OF VIOLATION	PERPETRATORS: NAME OF THE AGENCY
230.	MAHROOKA	W/O NISAR AHMAD	BAKSHIABAD	26-06-1993	KILLING	ARMY
231.	JAVAID AHMAD BHAT	MUHAMMAD SULTAN BHAT	BAKSHIABAD	26-06-1993	KILLING	ARMY
232.	MUHAMMAD HUSSAIN	MUHAMMAD SULTAN	BAKSHIABAD	26-06-1993	KILLING	ARMY
233.	SHAISTA	SISTER OF MAHROOKA	BAKSHIABAD	26-06-1993	KILLING	ARMY
234.	FAYAZ AHMAD BHAT	HYDER BHAT	BAKSHIABAD	1996	KILLING	ARMY
235.	FAROOQ AHMAD SOFI		BAKSHIABAD		KILLING	CRPF
236.	SHUJA HUSSAIN RAFIQUI	GHULAM MOHI UD DIN RAFIQUI	BASKHIABAD	04/01/1993	TORTURE	ARMY/IKHWAN

CASES FROM DIALGAM VILLAGE

	NAME OF THE VICTIM	FATHER'S NAME	ADDRESS	DATE AND TIME CRIME	NATURE OF VIOLATION	PERPETRATORS: NAME OF THE AGENCY
237.	SHABIR AHMAD SHEIKH	MUHAMMAD RAJAB SHEIKH	DIALGAM	1994	KILLING	
238.	MUHAMMAD RAMZAN BHAT	AZIZ BHAT	DIALGAM	1994	KILLING	
239.	MUHAMMAD IQBAL MIR	MUHAMMAD JABBAR MIR	DIALGAM	1996	KILLING	
240.	KHURSHID JAAN	JAAN MUHAMMAD	DIALGAM	1993	KILLING	
241.	MUHAMMAD JABBAR		DIALGAM	2015	KILLING	
242.	BASHIR AHMAD BHAT	ALI MUHAMMAD BHAT	DIALGAM	2002	KILLING	
243.	BASHIR AHMAD RATHER	GHULAM RASOOL RATHER	DIALGAM	1991	KILLING	
244.	AFREEN RATHER	ABDUL RASHEED RATHER	DIALGAM	1990	KILLING	
245.	ABDUL GANI SHEIKH	HABIBULLAH SHEIKH	DIALGAM	1992	KILLING	
246.	ABDUL RAHIM NAJAR		DIALGAM	1993	KILLING	
247.	MUHAMMAD AMIN RATHER	MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH RATHER	DIALGAM		KILLING	
248.	MUHAMMAD AMIN SHEIKH	GHULAM MUHAMMAD SHEIKH	DIALGAM	1992	KILLING	

	NAME OF THE VICTIM	FATHER'S NAME	ADDRESS	DATE AND TIME CRIME	NATURE OF VIOLATION	PERPETRATORS: NAME OF THE AGENCY
249.	ABDUL MAJEED NAJAR CODE NAME ARIF	ABDUL SATTAR NAJAR	DIALGAM	1998	KILLING	
250.	HILAL AHMAD SHEIKH	MUHAMMAD AFZAL SHEIKH	DIALGAM	06/07/1998	KILLING	
251.	MUHAMMAD YOUSUF BHAT, CODE NAME: SYED RAHI ANSARI	GHULAM MOHI UD DIN BHAT	DIALGAM	21/12/1993	KILLING	
252.	SHOWKAT AHMAD BHAT	GHULAM HUSSAIN BHAT	DIALGAM	2002	KILLING	
253.	GHULAM MOHI UD DIN LONE	MUHAMMAD SABIR LONE	DIALGAM	1993	KILLING	
254.	ABDUL RASHEED BAKSHI		DIALGAM	1991	KILLING	
255.	FAYAZ AHMAD MIR CODE NAME: ABU BAKER	HABIBULLAH MIR	DIALGAM	1997	KILLING	
256.	JAVEED AHMAD BHAT	GHULAM MUHAMMAD BHAT	DIALGAM	1996	KILLING	
257.	SUBZAR AHMAD BHAT	ABDUL GANI BHAT	DIALGAM	1993	KILLING	
258.	NAWAZA AKHTAR	GHULAM MUHAMMAD WAGAY	DIALGAM	2002	KILLING	DIED DUE TO SELF MINE BLAST
259.	BILAL WAHAB	ABDUL WAHAB	DIALGAM	2003	KILLING	
260.	MUHAMMAD AFZAL DAR	ABDUL GANI DAR	DIALGAM	30/5/1998	KILLING	HIZBUL MUJAHIDEEN
261.	NAZIR AHMAD DAR	ABDULLAH DAR	DIALGAM	JANUARY 1991	KILLING	ARMY
262.	MUZAFFAR AHMAD BHAT	ABDULLAH BHAT	DIALGAM	1992	KILLING	
263.	SAJA BEGUM	W/O: MUHAMMAD AHSAN KHAN	DIALGAM	1992	KILLING	
264.	ABDUL MAJEED PARRAY		DIALGAM	1997	KILLING	
265.	FAROOQ AHMAD BHAT	ABDUL RASHID BHAT	DIALGAM	1993	KILLING	
266.	ABDUL RASHEED BHAT	ABDUL QADIR BHAT	DIALGAM	1998	KILLING	
267.	JAVAID AHMAD BHAT	MUHAMMAD AMIN BHAT	DIALGAM	1998	KILLING	HIZBUL MUJAHIDEEN
268.	MUHAMMAD AMIN BHAT	ABDUL RAHIM BHAT	DIALGAM	1991	KILLING	ARMY

	NAME OF THE VICTIM	FATHER'S NAME	ADDRESS	DATE AND TIME CRIME	NATURE OF VIOLATION	PERPETRATORS: NAME OF THE AGENCY
269.	AHMAD QULAY	MUHAMMAD SULTAN QULAY	DIALGAM	1994	KILLING	ARMY
270.	ASADULLAH BHAT		DIALGAM			ARMY
271.	IRSHAD AHMAD		DIALGAM, WATERGAM	2010	KILLING	
272.	ABDUL GANI SHEIKH		DIALGAM	1992	KILLING	ARMY
273.	MUSHTAQ AHMED GANAI		SOZAN DIALGAM	8-3-1994	DISAPPEARANCE	ARMY

CASES FROM LARKIPORA AND SADOORA VILLAGES

	NAME OF THE VICTIM	FATHER'S NAME	ADDRESS	DATE AND TIME CRIME	NATURE OF VIOLATION	PERPETRATORS: NAME OF THE AGENCY
274.	JAMAAL SAHAB		LARKIPORA	MARCH 1, 1996	KILLING	IKHWAN
275.	MUHAMMAD SHAFI WANI	ABDUL MAJEED WANI	LARKIPORA	18-05-2001	KILLING	
276.	ABDUL SALAAM DAR		LARKIPORA	MARCH, 1996	KILLING	IKHWAN
277.	GHULAM HASSAN MALIK	SANAULLAH MALIK	LARKIPORA	1991	KILLING	ARMY
278.	SHOWKAT AHMAD KHANDAY	DILAWAR KHANDAY	LARKIPORA	1995	KILLING	
279.	MUHAMMAD YOUSUF KHANDAY		LARKIPORA	1999	KILLING	
280.	ABDUL RASHID HAJAM		LARKIPORA	1999	KILLING	
281.	GHULAM NABI RATHER	GHULAM QADIR RATHER	BONPUR, LARKIPORA	1994	KILLING	ARMY
282.	GHULAM RASOOL MIR		SADOORA	2003	KILLING	HIZBUL MUJAHEDEEN
283.	MUHAMMAD ABASS MIR	KHAZIR MUHAMMAD MIR	SADOORA	2009	KILLING	HIZBUL MUJAHEDEEN
284.	MUHAMMAD AKBAR SHEIKH	ABDUL AZIZ SHEIKH	SADOORA	2001	KILLING	HIZBUL MUJAHEDEEN

CASES FROM ANCHIDORA VILLAGE

	NAME OF THE VICTIM	FATHERS NAME	ADRESS	DATE AND TIME OF CRIME	NATURE OF VIOLATION	PERPETRATORS: NAME OF THE AGENCY
	FAYAZ AHMAD KHANDAY	GHULAM HASSAN KHANDAY	ANCHIDORA	14-08-1992	ENCOUNTER	ARMY
286.	MUHAMMAD ALTAF KHANDAY	MUHAMMAD JABBAR KHANDAY	ANCHIDORA	1997	KILLING	ARMY
287.	MUHAMMAD ASHRAF BHAT ALIAS BABA	GHULAM MUHAMMAD BHAT	ANCHIDORA	1996	KILLING	IKHWAN [TAHIR FUF AND SETH GUJJAR]
288.	SUJAAT UL ISLAM	MUHAMMAD ASHRAF BABA	ANCHIDORA	29-06-2010	KILLING	JK POLICE
289.	ISHTIYAQ AHMAD KHANDAY	GHULAM AHMAD KHANDAY	ANCHIDORA	26-06-2010	KILLING	JK POLICE
290.	ISHTIYAQ AHMAD LATTO		ANCHIDORA	14-08-2010	KILLING	CRPF [OFFICER RANI]
291.	MUHAMMAD AMIN WAGAY	GHULAM NABI WAGAY	ANCHIDORA	1992	TORTURE	ARMY
292.	NAZIR AHMAD DAR	GHULAM MUHAMMAD DAR	ANCHIDORA		TORTURE	ARMY
293.	AIJAZ AHMAD MAGRAY	GHULAM MUHAMMAD MAGRAY	ANCHIDORA	1995	TORTURE	ARMY/IKHWAN
294.	SHABIR AHMAD DAR	ABDUL SATTAR DAR	ANCHIDORA	1999	TORTURE	STF
295.	MUHAMMAD RAFIQ KHANDAY	GHULAM RASOOL KHANDAY	ANCHIDORA	2001	TORTURE	BSF
296.	BASHIR AHMAD BHAT	ALI MUHAMMAD BHAT	ANCHIDORA	1991	TORTURE	ARMY
297.	JAVAID AHMAD KHANDAY	ABDUL GANI KHANDAY	ANCHIDORA	1995	TORTURE	ARMY/IKHWAN
298.	IMTIYAZ AHMAD SOFI	GHULAM NABI SOFI	ANCHIDORA	1992	TORTURE	ARMY
299.	ABDUL GANI KHANDAY	SANAULLAH KHANDAY	ANCHIDORA	1990	TORTURE	ARMY

CASES FROM CHEE VILLAGE

	NAME OF THE VICTIM	FATHER'S NAME	ADRESS	DATE AND TIME OF CRIME	NATURE OF VIOLATION	PERPETRATORS: NAME OF THE AGENCY
300.	GHULAM AYOUB DAR	GHULAM AHMAD DAR	CHEE	MAY-1997	KILLING	IKHWAN

301.	MUHAMMAD YOUSUF DAR	ABDUL AZIZ DAR	CHEE	1996	KILLING	IKHWAN
302.	SHOWKET AHMAD BHAT	ABDUL GANI BHAT	CHEE	1994	KILLING	MUSLIM MUJAHEDEEN [PIN JIN]
303.	ABDUL AHAD NANDA	MUHAMMAD SHABAN NANDA	CHEE	1996	KILLING	IKHWAN
304.	TAHIR AHMAD KHANDAY	GHULAM QADIR KHANDAY	CHEE	1994	KILLING	HIZBUL MUJAHEDEEN
305.	ABDUL HAMID ALLAI	GHULAM MUHAMMAD ALLAI	CHEE	1996	KILLING	AL-JIHAD
306.	RAFIQ AHMAD GANAI	MUHAMMAD ALI GANAI	CHEE	2001	KILLING	HIZBUL MUJAHEDEEN
307.	MUHAMMAD YOUSUF DAR	ABDUL AHAD DAR	CHEE	1992	DISAPPEARED	ARMY/BSF
308.	MUHAMMAD ASHRAF DAR	FIAM DAR	CHEE	1992	DISAPPEARED	ARMY/BSF
309.	BASHIR AHMAD SHIKARI	ABDUL AHAD SHIKARI	CHEE	1993	KILLED	UNKNOWN GUNMEN
310.	NAZNEEN AKHTER	MUHAMMAD RAMZAN DAR	CHEE	1993	KILLED	UNKNOWN GUNMEN
311.	ABDUL AZAD DAR	SANAULLAH DAR	CHEE	1995	TORTURE	ARMY/IKHWAN
312.	MANZOOR AHMAD DAR	GHULAM HASSAN DAR	CHEE	1998	TORTURE	CRPF
313.	MUSHTAQ AHMAD ALLAI	GHULAM MUHAMMAD ALLAI	CHEE	1998	TORTURE	ARMY
314.	BASHIR AHMAD DAR	FIAM DAR	CHEE	1995	TORTURE	ARMY/IKHWAN
315.	MUHAMMAD SALEEM MIR	MUHAMMAD ISMAIL MIR	CHEE	2001	TORTURE	ARMY
316.	ABDUL HAMEED DAR	MUHAMMAD ISMAIL DAR	CHEE	2001	TORTURE	ARMY
317.	ABDUL HAMEED DAR	ALI MUHAMMAD DAR	CHEE	1997	TORTURE	ARMY/IKHWAN
318.	MUHAMMAD RAZAK MAGRAY	MUHAMMAD RAJAB MAGRAY	CHEE	1995	TORTURE	ARMY
319.	HABIBULLAH WANI	SON IN LAW OF GHULAM QADIR GANAI	CHEE	1996	TORTURE	STF
320.	FAYAZ AHMAD DAR	GHULAM MOHI UD DIN DAR	CHEE	2005	TORTURE	ARMY/POLICE
321.	ABDUL AZIZ LONE	JAMAL LONE	CHEE	1994	TORTURE	ARMY

ANNEXURE 3: TESTIMONIES / TAPPER CAMP

Structures of Violence: Testimonies

1. Abdul Rashid Bhat, son of Ghulam Qadir Bhat, resident of Malik Mohalla, Pattan town

In 1990, I was in services in the education department and this continued until 2000. I was Head of Department of the District Institute of Education in Sopore. In 1990, I stayed in the Bhat Mohalla of Pattan town and it is only over a few years back that I shifted to my present residence.

It was only from 2002 that the Jammu and Kashmir police were manipulated to do things. Before that it was the army that was in charge and actively doing things. The Palhallan camp came a little later but the Zangam camp was involved from the beginning.

I was part of a coordination effort between the HM and the MM. This lasted for around two years. The purpose of this coordination was to limit violence in Pattan. Persons involved in this effort were Dr. Rafiq, Ghulam Nabi Bhat, resident of Mian Mohalla, Mohammad Akbar Bhat, resident of Bhat Mohalla and working in the Agricultural field. Both Ghulam Nabi Bhat and Mohammad Akbar Bhat were subsequently killed. We created rules such as if a family had laid out food for a militant from one group, if the other group appeared at the same house, they would have to share the food available. This was to ensure that there was no violence between the groups in our houses. We dealt with Hamidullah Bhat, resident of Pattan, from the HM and Mohammad Ramzan Mian, alias Hayat Khan, from the MM. This was probably in 1992. Dr. Abdul Ahad Yatoo did not have a role in the Coordination Committee. He amassed a great deal of wealth and he received money to release people from the forces as well.

In the beginning, Ahsan Dar was very important in the HM. But, once he created MM and they started to lose space, his power decreased. Those days, Ali Mohammad [Burhan-ud-Din] of the HM was also an important person. Both had been students of mine.

I believe that Hayat Khan killed Mohammad Akbar Bhat. I am unsure of who killed Ghulam Nabi Bhat though. He was killed at the time of Eid. He was mercilessly killed along with his son and I think his wife was killed as well. I went to see him. Mian Mohalla had the control of MM whereas I was from an area controlled by HM. When I went to see the body of Ghulam Nabi Bhat, his brother consoled me but also told me that there would be a fight on Eid. I dug his grave in the martyr's graveyard. But Ghulam Nabi's family dug the grave in the Mian Mohalla. Things were clearly moving towards a confrontation that I felt had to be avoided. I called Dr. Rafiq to plan how to stop this. He was scared. I apologized to the family of Ghulam Nabi. But they were angry and some of them accused me of being a HM person but others intervened, as they knew me. They agreed to not fight but they were insistent on burying the bodies at Mian Mohalla itself. But I got Dr. Rafiq and a few others and sat on the ground and forced them to bury the bodies in the martyr's graveyard. We wanted to stop the anger that was bubbling.

Once a militant was killed and I went for the funeral. He was from HM probably. Hayat Khan sought my assistance in collecting money for the family of the militant. I assisted and we collected Rs. 20,000 and rice. We gave it to the family of the militant. This was when the MM and the HM were not fighting. There was coordination and understanding between the factions still.

After the above incident, a person from MM, Azam Khan came once to call Dr. Rafiq and me. He said that Hayat Khan had called us to a place called Buran. But, as we stepped out, there was firing that began, directed at us. We escaped that and Azam Khan insisted that we continue to accompany him. We had to walk for around 1.5 kilometers. When we reached the location, Hayat Khan was not there. He had gone elsewhere. After sometime he returned. I slapped him, shouted at him and asked him why he had summoned us in this way. I said look at Dr. Rafiq Khan who had suffered from the extensive walking. I also questioned him on how he could have sent a person like Azam Khan to fetch us, as Azam Khan did not know how to behave. I was angry but also Hayat Khan was a distant relative of mine. That's why I slapped him. He apologized. He wanted my help in releasing his vehicle from Wusan where HM people had taken it. I asked him why he had called me for such a small issue. By then the Coordination Committee was also gone as well as some of its members had been killed already. Subsequent to this meeting I heard that Hayat Khan too had been killed.

The MM, once they began working for the army, used to carry out crackdowns and raids. The army would have known about this as they were working together. I believe that the MM joined the army as they were losing in their clashes with the HM. Incidentally, at this time, the Ikhwan, the specific group, had no base in Pattan and they used to come to Pattan from outside only. Also, some boys [for example there was this boy from Mian Mohalla who subsequently was killed] left the MM and joined the HM. The Palhallan army camp was the main camp once it came into existence. Many boys were killed in that camp.

There are many incidents that took place and that I am a witness. I will recount a few incidents that may be of value.

On 1 August 1990 [those days I was working in Srinagar], I had a child who was studying in the 4th standard. It was around 9:00 am or so in the morning. My son used to go to school with a driver. Suddenly, there was gunfire sounds. I rushed to the market. On the way there is a nallah [stream]. In that nallah I saw a Sikh gentleman lying. He was bleeding and he wanted some water. I had no choice but to give him some of the dirty water there. On the national highway there were

speed-breakers. A convoy was going and the gunman on top fired by mistake. The other soldiers thought there was an attack and they began firing indiscriminately. Seven people were killed that day including the Sikh gentleman. He was actually an Assistant Sub-Inspector in the Jammu and Kashmir Police. A person called Habib Darzi, a labourer, also died on his verandah. I was worried for my son. But, luckily, someone had taken him to a hospital and hidden him there. A dervish was also killed that day. He was a very smart and elderly man. He used to be quiet and just take rounds in the bazaar.

My cousin brother Zahoor Ahmad Bhat was also killed. He was a militant and he had been trained in Pakistan as well. He was with HM. We got him married with his cousin sister. He was very helpful to people. But, he was a terror for the army. He did some big blasts in 1992-1993. He was from Jamia Mohalla, near Bhat Mohalla in Pattan. My uncle lives there. There was a crackdown to catch Zahoor once. He hid in a water tank in the hospital. He was arrested alongwith a doctor. A few days after that, we were brought for a crackdown to a temple in Pattan. An officer came and threatened everyone. He was a General or some such rank. Some boys were picked up and tortured. Subsequently, a police official called Rashid Billa came and took my cousin. This was after his release and he was no longer working with the militants. Rashid Billa came and picked him up at night. None of his family members were allowed out to raise alarm about his arrest for the whole night. We subsequently found his dead body.

Once there was a crackdown in Pattan. There was an aged, tall Havaldar – Nar Singh. He was based at the Palhallan army camp. He used to come and sit with me. There was a big Hindu festival. In Chaksari there was an army camp. An officer came from there to purchase some sweets. He left, but on the way, about a kilometer away, there was a blast and the officer, who was a Captain, and three soldiers accompanying him died. The bazaar was then kept in a crackdown for three to four days. One morning, two months later [the incident where the Captain died may have taken place in March] the soldiers from the Chaksari camp came to the bazaar. They had sticks and guns with them and beat people ruthlessly. No one died but people were brutally beaten. At that time, I was saved by Nar Singh who did not allow the soldiers to beat me.

In 1995, my younger sister's engagement was taking place. I took my nephews and went to Srinagar. We had gone to get vegetables etc. Prior to this day, HM had killed a person in Buran who they believed to be from MM. In response, MM was looking for a Pakistani militant of HM who was well loved in the area. So there was a crackdown in our area as we were returning from Srinagar. Luckily we met a relative before we reached our house and she informed us about it and we did not proceed to our house that night. When we finally reached our house, it was completely broken. Doors were not there. No windows. Luckily they didn't see the gold. But they fired in different places as well. In fact, the MM had come to kill my younger brother as they thought he had shielded the Pakistani militant. That was not true. Luckily some MM militants were also sympathetic to me and they did not kill my brother. We nonetheless continued with the engagement.

There was a man called Ali who was tall and tough. He was called "Israel" – a reference to a person who takes souls and is dangerous. His full nickname was Liyaqat Ali Khan [Major S. S. Sinha]. He was a Major at the Palhallan army camp. He would come from the Palhallan army camp. Any boy taken to the Palhallan army camp was not expected to return. Ali was himself responsible for the death of about five to ten people. On one occasion, two sons of Abdul Aziz Bhat, presently resident of Bhat Mohalla, Pattan, were picked up from Srinagar where the family had migrated to, at that time. One of his sons, Mushtaq Ahmad Bhat had been a militant but was no longer active. This was in 1996 probably. The other boy picked up along with Mushtaq Ahmad was his brother, Urfi [Hilal Ahmed Bhat]. Both were taken by Ali. I told Abdul Aziz that we would go and meet the Commanding Officer in Hyderbaig. But I told him not to speak. So we went. They greeted us properly. We told them that we have apprehensions that Major Liyakat would kill the victims. I told the Commanding Officer that Abdul Aziz was an ex-service man [which he in fact was] and therefore his sons, including Mushtaq who had surrendered, should be spared. We begged him to intervene. He picked up his phone and asked the person on the other side to give the boys a wash and keep them ready. He asked us to rush to Palhallan camp. We said they would not allow us to enter. He asked us to simply mention our names. We reached, and Nar Singh was there. He told me that if the phone call had not come the boys would have been dead. In fact, Nar Singh was being asked to get ready to kill them. We went inside. Major Liyaqat was seated there. He asked us where we had come from. We told him. He then called a boy called Adil who had accused the boys of being militants. We told Adil to withdraw his accusation, as Mushtaq was honestly not an active militant. Nar Singh also kicked Adil and asked him to tell the truth. Then Major Liyaqat, who had left the room for a while, returned. He asked Adil to speak. Under our persuasion, Adil changed his statement. Liyaqat asked Nar Singh to get a gun and shoot Adil. We then begged for even Adil's life. Major Liyaqat was not happy but the two boys were then released. We took them back to Srinagar. They had been tortured in Srinagar and at the Palhallan army camp.

2. Maqsood Ahmad Mian, son of Mohammad Subhan Mian, resident of Mian Mohalla, Pattan

Hayat Khan's real name was Mohammad Ramzan Mian and he was my relative – my cousin brother [on my mother's side]. Earlier he was a labourer and then he was a daily wager in the Public Health Engineering department of the government. Even in 1990 he was in service. In 1993 he became a militant and he went and returned from Pakistan. When he returned, he stayed with the MM. There were clashes between the militant

groups and Hayat Khan was active in Pattan. He was an area commander. He had three brothers – Mohammad Maqbool Mian, Sonaullah Mian and Mohammad Sultan Mian. Sonaullah was in the army in the Ordinance department. By the time Hayat Khan joined militancy, he had already left the army. He had in fact taken voluntary retirement as he had hurt his leg. He still gets pension from the army. Mohammad Sultan was a shopkeeper.

In 1993, MM was under the control of Ahsan Dar. Subsequently, it began to work for the Indian army. There was a person from Islamabad called Azam Khan. He, along with a person from Naidkhai called "Dar", went by Hyderbaig camp with weapons. They were arrested but in the same evening they were released along with their weapons. This happened in 1994. It was then that people realized that the MM was probably working with the army. Following this, they worked openly and carried weapons openly. Prior to this, in 1993, Hayat Khan was caught and he was detained in the Hyderbaig camp for some months. Even in this case, once he was released, people thought he was with the army. It was the Garhwal Rifles in those days.

The MM used to also stop people travelling at a point called "Kuta point" [Dog point] where an army camp was also based. The camp was called "Kuta mod" camp. They used to rob people as well. The MM were under the Hyderbaig camp. They must have got weapons and ammunitions from the army itself. Hayat Khan, while he was alive, was the person in charge and people like Azam Khan reported to him.

I do not believe that Hayat Khan actually killed anyone himself. Ultimately he was himself killed in 1994, and Azam Khan was killed some months later as well. Hayat Khan got caught in an ambush in Buran by HM. Then he stayed in a person named Ghulam Ahmad, alias Gullas, house near Hyderbaig. That's where he finally was killed.

There are incidents that took place and that I am aware of. I will recount a few incidents that may be of value.

Mohammad Ashraf Mian, studying in 12th standard, and Sajad Ahmad Mian were killed. I think they were over ground workers. Militants killed them one night. They were picked up, I think, because of their association with Hayat Khan.

Ghulam Nabi Bhat of Mian Mohalla was killed as well. He was killed along with two small sons of his, and a militant called Farooq Ahmad Mian who was with MM. I am not sure who killed them. At that time people thought the killings were done by HM. This happened about six months after Hayat Khan was released. It probably happened in 1994. For the killed, graves were dug in Pattan, martyrs graveyard, as well as in the victims own mohalla. But, ultimately, they were buried in the martyr's graveyard. I remember that Ghulam Nabi Bhat's brother, Manzoor Ahmad Bhat, was also injured in the attack. His leg and one hand are of no use due to bullet injuries. Ghulam Nabi's wife, Saja, was also injured. So, four people died but others were injured. I do not believe that Farooq Ahmad Mian was working for the army. In fact, I think he had planned to joined HM that day itself.

Another incident I remember is that there was a person near my house who was killed. It began with two army men who were killed by militants. Two or three days later, my neighbor, who was a shopkeeper, was picked up and he was killed. He was an ironsmith and was from Sultanpora. He was not involved with the militants. I do not know which army unit picked him and killed him.

Mohammad Akbar Bhat was killed by the MM. He was accused of working with HM. A person named Bashir Ahmad Malla was attacked by the MM. They cut his leg. He must have made a mistake by having a relation with some women.

Azam Khan killed Mohammad Maqbool Mian. He fired at him directly while accusing him of being with HM. He was a civilian. Before this, Mohammad Ashraf Mian and Sajad Ahmad Mian had been killed and so this was like retaliation.

3. Noor-ud-Din Mian, son of Abdul Ahad Mian, resident of Mian Mohalla, Pattan.

Hayat Khan, whose real name was Mohammad Ramzan Mian, is my sister's son. His wife was also my niece – the daughter of my brother.

The fight between MM and HM began in 1992. Hayat Khan had gone across the border for training and returned by then. He originally went across with the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front. On return he joined the MM. Initially, there was a Coordination Committee comprised of Abdul Rashid Bhat, Mohammad Akbar Bhat and Ghulam Nabi Bhat that sought to ensure cooperation between MM and HM.

After sometime we realized that Hayat Khan and the MM were working with the Indian army. When Hayat Khan was caught he was kept in the Hyderbaig army camp for three months. No other MM boys were caught then. This was sometime in 1993. Hayat Khan was not tortured at the army camp. Whenever we met him he used to say he was fine. But when the army released him, they allowed him to leave with weapons. That's when I realized he was with the army. Hayat Khan then connected other boys of the MM with the army. Hayat Khan talked to Colonel Choudhary at the Hyderbaig camp. Hayat Khan himself told me about his contact with Colonel Choudhary. Colonel Chaudhary used to visit Hayat Khan's house as well. He came about 40-50 times. I too saw him there. Colonel Choudhary later became a Brigadier. Other officers may have been with him when he visited Hayat Khan, but Colonel Choudhary was the main person in charge. He ran the MM. He was of my height. He was well spoken. After Pattan he was posted in Bandipora. He probably shifted from Pattan to Bandipora some six-seven months after Hayat Khan was killed. He also became Brigadier

though I am unsure whether that happened when he was in Pattan or when he was in Bandipora.

Hayat Khan used to get the weapons and ammunitions for everyone from the Hyderbaig camp. He used to go alone and get the weapons and ammunition in his vehicle. 80 boys from Pattan were also given army identity cards. These boys were from places such as Siriwarpora, Pattan, Buran etc. Out of all these boys, today only eight or ten would still be alive. One of them is Farooq Ahmad Mian. The other person is a boy referred to as Adil, resident of Par Mohalla, who was also from the MM.

The MM did raids on their own. The army was not on the ground with them. They did not need to, since they used to give the MM weapons and ammunition. MM used to get weapons from Hyderbaig. I am unaware of any salary being paid to MM by the army. No one could question the MM. They once stole an oil vehicle, which they then distributed amongst people. They also did checking at a place called "Kuta mod".

Prior to any army crackdown, the MM would get notice and they would ensure that they were not trapped in the crackdown. They used to take their guns and go somewhere else. Hayat Khan and other MM boys used to operate upto Tangmarg, Baba Reshi etc. Muma Kanna was not connected with them. They were not operational in Baramulla town or Sopore. But, they did work upto Delina, Baramulla. They also had links in Islamabad with Ghulam Nabi Azad. They used to go meet him in Islamabad and even he used to come to Pattan. They had no links with Kuka Parray.

They used to work only with army and not with the Special Operations Group. The Superintendent of Police of the district could not and did not interfere in their work.

Hayat Khan worked with the army from 1993 to 1994. He was shot by HM in Buran. He then went to a house in Hyderbaig, near the camp, that belonged to a friend. That person, whose house he stayed in, was also with MM and his name was Ghulam Mohammad Yatoo alias Gulla. Gulla gave Hayat Khan a different medicine, made him unconscious and then shot him. Gulla also surrendered. He now has a shop at Hyderbaig.

Azam Khan was working under Hayat Khan. When he got shot in Buran and he was recovering, Azam Khan one day got Fayaz Ahmad who got disappeared down from a car and disappeared him. Hayat Khan was not involved in this disappearance. Azam Khan did it on his own. I believe that Hayat Khan did not kill anyone. For example, there is an allegation that he killed a person called Ghulam Qadir. This is not true. There was firing between HM and MM and Ghulam Qadir must have come in between and been killed.

Hayat Khan was a good person. He got a road constructed as well. He helped poor people. If someone had a marriageable girl he got her married. He would collect finances from friends to assist. Hayat Khan did not make money as is evidenced by the poor condition his family is presently in.

I too was scared in those days and that's why I migrated. I left Pattan in 1995 and returned in 2012. I was in Jammu. I was staying on rent there. I used to receive migrant fund, which continues to date. No one else from the family migrated. Another migrant from Pattan was Mohammad Ramzan Mian. Our names were on a list sent by HM. That's why we left. Also a person named Mohammad Maqbool Bhat migrated. Another person who migrated was Jehangir Khan from Singhpora, Pattan. We all left with family. My wife came back later. I was there and Mohammad Ramzan, his wife, and Mohammad Maqbool.

4. Witness B, resident of Pattan. [The witness has requested anonymity and therefore all identifying information is withheld]

I was a part of the Muslim Mujahideen for a period of one and a half years and I worked for the Palhallan army camp. But, I felt I had no choice but to join.

I joined the MM to ensure the safety of a relative of mine who was jailed. This was after Hayat Khan had died. Azam Khan was then the commander. He died after eight to nine months. I used to then work in Pattan and report to the Palhallan camp. There was initially a Major Choudhary at Baba Taing who then got transferred to Hyderbaig camp. I think there was a Colonel Kumar at Hyderbaig camp as well. Once the Palhallan camp came into existence we used to report to the Major at the camp. I worked for the Palhallan camp and MM for a year or year and a half.

When I was working at the Palhallan army camp, the army was there, but I do not think the Special Operations Group was present then. The army provided the weapons and ammunition. There used to be a register, which was managed by the Company Havaldar Major. When we returned weapons or ammunition we had to sign. Bullets would also be counted. There was no quota or limitation. They gave us weapons and ammunition easily but the only thing was that it had to be accounted for. This system was in place in the Palhallan army camp. I never went to the Hyderbaig camp. The senior MM persons used to go to Hyderbaig, for example Azam Khan, Shaheen, Ghulam Ahmad Waza alias Amma Waza, Shoga from Nihalpora, and Ghulam Hassan Kaloo. They could deal with the Commanding Officer, such as Colonel Choudhary.

The Jammu and Kashmir police had no role. They would not say anything. We would not listen to the police. Only the Major of the army would count. He would pass on messages to our MM commanders who in turn would order us. After Hayat Khan, Azam Khan was made head of MM. Following his death, the following were heads: Shaheen and then Ghulam Ahmad Waza. Also, the SOG did not report to the

Pattan police station.

The reason I stopped working for the MM and the army is because they ended up torturing me in the very same camp where I used to work – Palhallan army camp. This time Major Liyaqat [also called Ali and Israel] was in charge of the camp. I went outside Jammu and Kashmir for a bit. When I returned I went home. It was Ramzan time. I was summoned to the Palhallan army camp. First, at the camp, they gave me half a cup of tea. They then hung me upside down for a night on a pole. They asked for my relative's weapons. This was one and a half years after I had already been working for them. I was beaten the next day. I was kept shut for a total of four and a half months. I was kept below one of the Pandit houses in the camp. It was ten feet below and ten feet by ten feet in dimension. They made stairs from above. Another person called Abdul Ahad Baba was also detained below alongwith me. The sentry used to also sit in the room. Abdul Ahad Baba and I were together for one and a half months. They would question him about his brother. He did not know Urdu. Before this, at some point, Abdul Ahad Baba had escaped. Then they had caught him again. One and a half months later, one night the sentry woke up Abdul Ahad Baba. They told him he had to go home. He said he could not go home at night. I, meanwhile, was crying as I thought they were letting him go and not me. Nonetheless, I had told Abdul Ahad Baba to inform my family about where I was detained. I later found out that my family had thought I was dead.

Major Liyaqat himself tortured me. He ran a roller over me. Gave me electrical shocks on my legs, mouth, and fingers. I got swelling in my hands. But a kind soldier used to secretly give me medicines.

Then after four and a half months, they woke me up at 2:00 am. They asked me to have a bath with a bucket. They had not given me anything. I just put the water over my head. My hair was long. My nails were long. My eyes had also been affected. I had not seen light for four and a half months. When I reached home I could not recognize my father as well. Before they released me they took me to a room upstairs and asked me what I will get for them from home. I said walnuts etc. When I went out I could not believe I could see light. I went into the office and Major Liyakat was there. He said we had wrong information from Kuka, a HM militant. He said take a gun and kill him. This was wrong information to get me back in. I said I am not feeling well and I need some time and I will then kill him. I then sat at home. They dropped me at home in a civil taxi. People could not believe I was alive. I had five baths that day. I then got married probably a year or two later in 1998. I then worked with no one again.

I do remember the incident where Captain Abdul Aziz Bhat's son's – Urfi and Mushtaq were brought to the Palhallan army camp. I was present then. I understand I am accused of having a role in the incident. Let me try and explain the situation. They had a relative in Malpora called Musaib alias Mussa. He used to meet Ghulam Ahmad Waza alias Amma Waza. He came and sat in the camp. Musaib was earlier a militant but he became friends with Amma Waza. To prove himself to the army he said he would get a militant caught. This was to gain confidence. So he got the two boys caught. But, then, Amma Waza forced me to front up and confirm they were militants. So, I did. That was the extent of my role and the circumstances that led to it. Ten to twenty days after this is when I got shut. So, this may have been the reason that the army detained me and Major Liyaqat who was not happy when I changed my testimony after Captain Aziz and Abdul Rashid Pandit scolded me.

I recall that the families of militants used to be brought to sleep there at the Palhallan camp. The idea was that if one of our people gets hit outside, the militants would be aware that their families were in custody of the camp. Also, the families served as a human shield. This went on for five to six months when I was present.

I was never taken along with the army or even the MM when they were doing any killings. They basically never trusted me because of my relative and his militant past. They killed my relative as well subsequently. He had been released from jail. My relative was killed eight months after my release. The army at the Chaksari camp killed him. Rashid Ganie assisted them. We received Rs. 1,00,000 but no SRO-43 benefits.

5. Abdul Aziz Bhat [Captain], son of Ghulam Mohammad Bhat, Resident of Bhat Mohalla, Pattan, Chairman, Welfare Coordination Committee

In 1990, I was doing business. I had taken voluntary retirement from the army before that. When the disturbance began in Pattan we felt it was better to leave. Parties were fighting between each other at that time. So, we shifted to Magarmal Bagh in Srinagar. We stayed there from 1990/1991 to 2000.

Once, an army unit came to Srinagar. I think it was the 8 Raj Rifles. The Palhallan army camp were the ones who I believe came. They picked up both my sons – Mushtaq and Hilal alias Urfi. Mushtaq had done graduation and Urfi had done 12th class. Mushtaq was around 30. Hilal was around 22 or so. This was in 1996, in December. This happened after the case relating to the son of Mohammad Subhan Rather. They came home at 1:00 am. Major Sinha was the one who came. Major Sinha was part of Army Service Corps as I was. I had gone to attend the wedding of relative of Satnam Singh Oberoi who was s senior police official. I do believe Major Sinha came himself that night. When I found out what happened I immediately proceeded to the Sector Command and met a Colonel who was a friend of mine called Colonel Birender. Abdul Rashid Bhat was also present with me. My nephew also came along, his name is Tariq Ahmad, as he did dish antennae and other business with the army and therefore knew them. Colonel Birendra was from the artillery unit. He contacted Major Liyaqat's Commanding Officer / Colonel. I think it was someone called Yadav. I told Colonel Birender that it is

unfortunate as I was an army man myself and despite that I was being victimized. My son, Mushtaq was not an active militant. He had left militancy. My other son was a shopkeeper. Then we went to the camp. Major Liyaqat tortured my sons himself as he used to do. Major Liyaqat then questioned Adil, a boy working with them, before us itself. He asked him why he had sent people to our house. Adil said because his father used to work there. Major Liyaqat was under pressure from his higher ups. He slapped Adil. It was the MM who sent the army there. I don't know the involvement of Mustafa in this case but there is a Mustafa Shah from Malpora who was arrested later. But, yes, Adil did tell me the story of why he got involved in this case. The boys were released and they were alright. The MM and army had beaten them. There was no FIR filed. I thought the police would not be able to help and it would be a long process. I thought it was better to go straight to the army. I even knew Satnam Singh Oberoi who was a police officer. But I thought he could not help.

We used to go and help to release people who were innocent from the army. Sardar Manohar Singh alias Lalaji, brother of Satnam Singh Oberoi, who had a band saw business and I used to go and help. We were the main people doing this. If it were civilian the army would oblige. People approached us for help, as they knew we would not take money. This used to happen maybe once a month. This was happening after 1992. I used to come from Srinagar. But sometimes I was based in Pattan as well. People were normally taken to the Palhallan camp. Before 1994, when the Palhallan camp came into existence, I do not know where they took them. I never went to get people out of Hyderbaig. I went straight to Palhallan camp.

We had a Peace Committee formed under the chairmanship of Abdul Khaliq Bhat. The local people made the committee and we had informed the army. They approved of the plan. Manohar Singh, Ghulam Mohammad Dhobi, who died later, Abdul Majid Kar, who died later, and myself were a part of it. They were all prominent citizens. The aim of the committee was to ensure that things did not go wrong by army or militants etc. in Pattan. I do not remember a case where the Peace Committee intervened and the army did not agree. This Committee began in 1994. But, I began helping in 1993 itself. The Committee was there till 1998. I never went to the SOG or CRPF much. The police was also doing their bit. The police would also request the army, just like we were trying. The police was not more effective than us. The army had more control till later 1990's because of the situation. Later the police had more of a role. But, of course, the army has more control even now. The police would not always listen to the army. But I do not remember a case where the army requested and the police did not release someone. The Superintendent of Police was generally not out much. They were in their offices. That is why even in my personal case of the detention of my sons, I never approached my friend Satnam Singh, who was a senior police officer then.

The MM was first HM. Then they split and started infighting. MM was referred to as Ahsan Dar's party. Ahsan Dar used to go to Mian Mohalla more where Hayat Khan was. I do not know about the connection between MM and army. People like Adil were just normal people working for them. I never talked to the army about MM. I was also hassled by the MM. In my absence in Magarmal Bagh the MM came and broke windows. Militants incidentally never troubled us.

In the Palhallan camp, there were different camps inside and there were gates. Kuldeep Sharma, I think that was his name, was in charge of the police. CRPF had its own command structure in the camp. The Commanding Officer would know each and everything that was happening with the Major and his command. Every issue would be reported to the Commanding Officer. Sometimes the Major could release people directly but sometimes the Commanding Officer would have to intervene. On some issues the Commanding Officer would have to be consulted. But the Major is the one in charge of the camp.

Now Pattan comes under the Zangam camp. But when Palhallan camp was there, Pattan came under it. I think Zangam camp became an army camp, as opposed to a BSF camp before, in 2000. That's also around when the Palhallan army camp ceased to exist.

In 1990s there was a militant called Janna who was killed in this area by the Punjab regiment. This was in the 1990s but we were not here. We heard it was not an encounter.

6. Showkat Ahmad alias Shoga alias Manzoor Ahmad, son of Abdul Khaliq Bhat, resident of Buran, Pattan

My nickname is Shoga whereas my name as a militant or MM member was Manzoor Ahmad. Therefore, in official State documents, like an FIR, I am referred to as Manzoor Ahmad.

In 1989 I went across with JKLF. I was there for one year. I was trained for three months and for the rest of the time I just roamed around. I returned with Harkat-ul-Mujahideen in 1990. They took me to some empty house Srinagar. The Commander was someone called Pir. There were four or five of us there. They took our weapons away and left us there. Then we returned to Pattan and our respective places. Then, I joined Wasim Bedar alias Khurram Bedar, with the Al-Barq. He, in fact approached me. He gave me weapons and asked me to stay at home. I did this for three years. He used to stay in Srinagar. I buried the weapons and did my carpet weaving business.

Three years later, 1993, there was a fight between HM and MM. HM did a raid on our house. They asked me to join them. They asked for my weapons. I refused and said I was with Al-Barq and they would demand the weapon later and make me pay for it, if I did not have it. Because of this confrontation, I had to join MM. I joined

MM in 1994.

Athar was Commander then. He was from Chaksari. Hayat Khan was at that time operating in the Pattan town. But, I was in the Nihalpora village as those days I used to stay there and not in Buran. The Commander on the Nihalpora, Chaksari side was Athar, resident of Chaksari. So, Hayat Khan controlled Buran, Pattan, Palhallan, and Athar controlled Chaksari, Nihalpora etc. There were 18 boys in total in our area and we all reported to Athar. We were under the army camp at Nihalpora. The Commanding Officer [I think it was Choudhary then] was in Hyderbaig. In addition, there was a person called Abdul Rashid Ganie who was working directly for the army. He actually came into the forefront after Hayat Khan died. He used to fight with Azam Khan [originally from Islamabad; he helped Athar and other escape when they had been kidnapped in Islamabad by HM; Ahsan Dar was also rescued that time; Azam Khan's house was burnt down and he migrated to Pattan] as well. I believe Choudhary was the person running the MM. But, I do not think the army actually gave money to the MM. The Commanders of MM in the Pattan and Palhallan area were Hayat Khan, then Azam Khan, then a person called Shaheen. I am not sure after that. Shaheen's real name was Abdul Majid Mir. I believe he was killed by MM. A boy took him to Srinagar from Warpora. He used to earlier work for Athar and I think Athar got him killed.

I myself never went to the camps. But, Athar and some others used to visit the camp. The army used to supply ammunitions to boys after getting them to sign. I stayed with MM for a total of three months only. The boys from Nihalpora, such as myself, were not included much in the Chaksari boy's activities. That is why they also suspected us. Out of the total eighteen boys in the Chaksari etc area, very few are alive. Besides Athar, there is a person called Bashir alias Javed who is alive. Other boys from Nihalpora, my area, were Manzoor Ahmad Wani and Maqbool Ganai.

Before I joined the MM I did not know they worked with the army. But, once I joined, I knew. They used to admit it. Once, I was with Athar and I warned them of the army and I said we should leave. Athar said the army would not do anything to us. This was in 1994. Once, on my second day of work, I saw the army come and I wanted to fire and run, but Athar told me not to. That is how I got to know of the MM role with army.

I never saw anyone being killed before my eyes. Also, there are no cases against me except the one I was arrested in.

I once did fire in Pattan bazaar. But, the general allegation that I killed two boys in this firing is wrong. MM boys from Mian mohalla were asking shopkeepers for money. One man, whose father was a shopkeeper, and another boy who was from Jamaat-e-Islami refused. One of them was from Malpora. The firing started from all sides. The bullets sprayed and hit two bystanders. Two boys died by accident. Actually the reason I was there is because I was to return home. But I could not do that openly and directly because of security and I had to be with the MM boys from Mian mohalla. That's why I was with them for two days and that was when this incident took place. There is no FIR in this case. I did fire but it is wrong to say I killed them. There was one boy from Kalsari and he was the one who in fact did the firing in the beginning by mistake. He was an over ground worker for MM. I think his name was Ali Mohammad alias Ali Garhwal [he was hard of hearing].

In another instance, and this led to my arrest, the HM picked up a boy from MM – Maqbool from Dargam. So, all of us then began searching for Athar to make a plan. We reached a place called Goyiev and found him eating in a house of a Jamaat-e-Islami person [the Jamaat was associated with the HM]. I got angry and confronted him. I asked him how he could be eating there when we were fighting with HM. I told him that if he came to Nihalpora I would not leave him. He then called a meeting with his people in Chaksari and asked the Nihalpora people to come there. He asked me why I got angry. I asked him what else I could do. He then got the army and got himself taken to the Chaksari camp. This was to protect himself from us because he felt we could harm him. He then told the personnel at the army camp that the two boys from Nihalpora – Bashir Ahmad Rather alias Javed and myself were involved in a killing of a boy from HM and that we had buried the body somewhere. He did this to get us trapped. The army, it was the Garhwal Rifles then, cordoned the house and arrested us. The Commanding Officer or maybe his deputy came himself. The Major from Chaksari camp also came. They took us to the Hyderbaig camp – in what is referred to as the "Khacchar unit". They put us in cells. We were there for one and a half months. It was my first experience of torture. The officers were not in the room when we were tortured. They were asking me for weapons. Then they took me to the Joint Interrogation Centre at Baramulla. I was kept there for a year. Then I was taken and put under PSA at Udhampur for 14 months. I was finally released after five months. Bashir Ahmad was kept at Udhampur for 14 months.

The army came to my house on a second occasion. Reshi Bhat told Rashid Ganie that I had weapons and in turn brought the army. Militants had killed his son and son-in-law and he had wanted me to intervene and take action against them, but I refused. That's why he got the army onto me. Rashid Ganie first came to our house and asked us not to worry and got me out. Then the army caught me. Once again I was back in Hyderbaig for fourteen days. My nephew, Bashir Ahmad Tantray, resident of Nihalpora, was also picked up. He was not tortured. I was tortured in front of Bashir. There was a Major Chaddha in Hyderbaig who tortured me. He asked for the weapons. I said what I had given whatever weapons I had. They then called Reshi Bhat who could not support his accusations. I was released and Reshi Bhat was detained. They kept him inside for two months and tortured him as well. They kept me naked when they tortured me. They gave me electric shocks; poured

a full bottle of petrol down my throat; used a roller on my legs; beat my feet. An army doctor told them that if they tortured me more, I would die. Major Chaddha was supervising the torture.

After I stopped working with the army I stayed in Nihalpora for a few years. I had to give my attendance at the Chaksari camp. When I returned to Buran I had to give attendance at the Zangam camp. To date my feet are swollen and I am affected by the torture.

7. Abdul Hamid Malik, alias Athar, resident of Chaksari, Tangmarg

The Chaksari camp came into existence in 1990 or 1991. They knew everything about everyone. They arrested me as well. I was with MM then. Before that I was working as an over ground worker of HM. I joined Ahsan Dar after he left from HM in 1992. He was my neighbor and he influenced me. The whole village naturally got involved with him. So when the split happened we also went with him. He had a personal affect on us. In between he disappeared for some time but he had not been arrested. This was in 1992. He disappeared for maybe six months or a year. He may have gone across. We had no touch with him. There were some eighteen boys or so with this split group – MM from our area. I think the MM was actually formed after Ahsan Dar's disappearance. I think some boys from Srinagar or Kandi started MM. There was a person called Shabir Zargar from Srinagar and Ishfaq from Kandi, who is deceased.

On one occasion some eighteen boys were picked up and taken to Islamabad town. We were taken to a place called Lehanban in the jungle. We were shut for ten to twenty days. This theory that Azam Khan was there and he helped us is all wrong. Firstly, it should be clarified that I actually went there separately. We heard that a boy called Burhan had been taken. So, his brother, Abdul Qayoom Bhat, accompanied me to go and see what was happening. We went as civilians. Ahsan Dar's younger brother Majid was also with us. Then, we were also detained there. We were being taken to Kulgam one day and in between there was an army camp. They put us into a matador and asked us to go through and the HM boys thought they would jump back onto the vehicle a little ahead. But we took the opportunity and escaped. Azam Khan was an over ground worker of HM but he never helped us on that occasion. That time there were grievances between the top cadres but on the ground there was no fighting yet. After this incident, Ahsan Dar disappeared for a while.

Then the MM began for a while. But, there was no centralized control. Pattan had a group, which included Palhallan. Hayat Khan was the early commander of this group. On our side, there were boys from Nihalpora, Warpora and Chaksari. Islamabad had its own group. The groups were not united. We never used to go to army camps.

I was arrested in 1993/1994. I was arrested one year after MM was formed. The Major who arrested me was S.M. Gurung. They took me to Hyderbaig camp. They first took me to Chaksari camp and then Hyderbaig. In those days the Colonel involved was Colonel Vijay Kumar. He spoke to me during questioning. He was with 2 Garhwal Rifles. The smaller camps were all under Hyderbaig and Colonel Vijay Kumar who was the Commanding Officer. Those days, Chaksari was the main camp. I was not tortured as they were interrogating me verbally. Colonel Vijay and a few majors were talking to me. I heard his name because people also referred to him as Vijay Sahib. I became sort of friendly with Colonel Vijay Kumar. He wanted to bring me into the political process. I was shut for ten to fifteen days in Hyderbaig. Then they released me.

I returned home. Colonel Vijay Kumar had a soft approach to me. He knew I had not harmed anyone, which is also true. He also understood my personal difficulties and condition at home.

One day, seven to eight months later, the Ikhwanis from Singhpora came. Fayaz Malik was one of them, as was Rashid from Mian Mohalla, Pattan. They picked me up and kept me in a house in Pattan. Then people here protested before the Chaksari camp. Then they under pressure took me to Hyderbaig. I was presented before Colonel Vijay Kumar. He scolded the Ikhwan and I was returned home.

The allegation, that I controlled boys, as MM Commander is false. Similarly, the story regarding how I got Showkat Malik, alias Shoga arrested is also wrong. I was no one to get people arrested. Boys were regularly arrested for a short time and released. Also, the allegation that I told Shoga not worry about the army and run is also not true. People have tried to defame me. If I really had influence over boys then and they would listen to me, then things would have been different. In 2001, I was also shot by a gunman near my house but I survived that attack.

The relationship between MM and army was on the personal level i.e. not at the group level. Rashid from Mian Mohalla was with the army. Even the boys from Chaksari had a link with the army on a personal level.

I do remember that Bilal Siddiqui did come to Chaksari. Sumji also used to come here. But, I do not know of any meeting that Professor Gani held in Chaksari. I never even met Professor Gani in Chaksari or Pattan for that matter. But, I did meet him in Srinagar. When the fighting between MM and HM was ongoing, a few of us went to Srinagar and met him. Besides me there was Abdul Jabbar Bhat from Nihalpora. We asked the Professor to assist in sorting out the ongoing discord. He said he would talk to Geelani. He never said anything about the killing of Jamaat members as a solution. There was in fact a connection between Muslim Conference and MM and for sometime. They were financing the MM. This maybe went on for a year but then it stopped.

The Behrampora incident took place before my arrest. Sheru was from Vailoo and he was the main character in this incident. Also present were Nazir Khan from Gadwani, Mohammad Yousuf Dar [brother of Ahsan Dar] and Ghulam Mohammad Yatoo. They took along with them an over ground worker called Alif Din Lone. They went to collect money from a family in Behrampora but found HM boys there. There was cross-filing and some members of the family died, as did Alif Din Lone. Some others were injured and the HM took the weapons of MM boys. Then there was an investigation in which Abdul Gaffar Ganie an elder from the family whose members were killed was involved. The issue was of the missing guns. We told the family that we could not get the guns. But, that they could and should. Ultimately, in lieu of the guns, they paid money. I did not take the money myself and I do not know where the money went.

There was in fact an attack in an orchard in Chaksari, where Bilal Siddiqui was also present. Abdul Salaam of Beerwah, Shabir Ahmad Zargar, and Sareer Khan were also there. People had come for a meeting. They stayed overnight and then assembled in the orchard in the morning. We had organized a cordon but suddenly there was an attack by army. Abdul Salaam died in that attack but I do not know of damage on the army side.

8. Abdul Jabbar Bhat, son of Sonaullah Bhat, resident of Chaksari, Pattan

In 1990, I was in government service. I had four sons and two daughters. There was unemployment and therefore my son Gulzar joined militancy. He was first with HM and then MM. He returned from Pakistan in 1990. Probably from 1990-1992 he was with HM and then MM till his death in 1994.

Before his death he was basically arrested. We heard the arrest was by 15 Punjab of Shumlaran and so we approached them. He had been arrested in a crackdown. The army at Shumlaran said he was fine and would be released. Another boy, the son of the Numberdar Ghulam Ahmad Wani had also disappeared but the army did not say anything of his whereabouts. This led us to believe the army when they said he was picked up but was fine. Then later we heard his body was lying somewhere. A man from Sultanpora had his identity card. The body was brought by some Malpora police and given to Pattan police station and FIR was filed by the Kreeri Police Station under FIR no. 83/1994 at Kreeri police station. The date of incident is noted as 22/23 October 1994.

I was tortured first at the end of 1994. RR from Andergam or Watergam came to kill me. They tortured me. Then I shouted. They then got me patched up and taken to the hospital. My other son – Abdul Qayoom was also tortured many times. JAKLI from Nihalpora tortured him, as did the Garhwal Rifles. Aziz Garhwal tortured him as well. My other son Mohammad Subhan Bhat and his wife Zeba were also tortured as was my younger son Imtiyaz.

Some boys of MM did go with the army for example Hayat Khan and Sheru from Vailoo. Athar was not connected with the army though. But, out of vulnerability he may have hung around those MM boys who were with the army.

Professor Abdul Gani Bhat was close to the MM but I do not know of any meeting, which he attended in the area though he did visit and once gave a speech here. I also do not know if he was involved in financing the MM. I am a member of his party the Muslim Conference. I do not know of the army approaching the party to offer help. In my time the MM and Muslim Conference did not have any problems but slowly they drifted apart. I do remember going with Master Sattar, Akbar Dar and others [but not Athar] to meet Professor Gani in Srinagar about the fight between MM and HM. I do not remember Professor Gani saying anything about the killing of Jamaat members as a response. Those do not sound like the sort of words he would say. He is a unique leader.

9. Abdul Ahad Yatoo, resident of Hyderbaig, Pattan, occupation: Politician

Right from the beginning, that is 1987, I started working for the people. When the army caught people, there was no one to help. This was the situation right from the beginning until 2000. I first fought the 1996 elections. There were bombs and rocket launchers. I fought as an independent candidate and got 7000 votes. It was the constituency of Baramulla. I got more votes from Pattan. But I also got voted in from Tangmarg and Sangrama. I worked in all these areas. I used to even assist people from Uri, Chandoosa, Kandi. I used to tell the army officers that not everyone is a militant. I used to tell them that people with guns could force other people to do things. Families would be forced to feed and shelter militants. I used to tell them not to include everyone in the same basket.

I used to have a medical shop in Hyderbaig from even before 1990. I am basically a pharmacist. The shop was in the main Hyderbaig bazaar and I had a shop in Wanigam Bala, where I am originally from. My social work was to assist people with medicines. This was my social work. At that time people were poor. I used to charge a very limited amount.

The first case in which I helped in relation to the army was from Wanigam Bala – where I was from. I started living in Pattan only from 1996. Even now I have a house and land there in Wanigam Bala. There was a crackdown in 1990. It must have been March 1990. During the crackdown people were brought together. When the crackdown took place there was a big officer of the army. He asked for a translator from Hindi to Kashmiri. People said our "MLA" is here. They were referring to me. I said I am not a MLA but a social worker and I am with the youth National Conference.

Let me just divert and explain. When militancy began I was forced by militants to resign. They did firing at my home as well. Then I gave this in the newspaper that I had resigned. Then I had got involved with the pharmacy itself. At that time many National Conference people were attacked. At the time the militants attacked, a neighbor had asked me to assist. This was at night. So I went to their house and that's when the militants attacked. They asked for me. They entered my room as well. My father told them very directly that I had gone to see a patient. As I was treating the child, my uncle came and told me the militants had come looking for me. I treated the child and then went onto another houses roof and stayed in the grass itself. This happened in December 1989. The next morning I resigned and said I was not connected to any party. Then I was fully into the medical shop.

Now, returning to the story of March 1990. The big officer asked me to translate. He said we are here for your security. We don't want to harass you. I am sorry you had to be woken up so early. He said there was a boy from this village who is a militant. We have caught him and we will show him to you. He was a Commanding Officer of the Hyderbaig camp. They had caught this boy somewhere. They wanted to talk to the father of the boy about weapons. But we did not believe him then. Then after half an hour or so, they brought him. These days that very boy drives a vehicle. His name is Khursheed Ahmad Bhat and he is from Wanigam. They then took him to the camp. They searched for weapons in another village as well. Then the whole camp got together to rescue him. Five to six people came with me. We went to Hamray camp. They used to sit in the Hamray camp then, as near Wanigam there was no camp. The Hamray camp was a battalion camp and was under Yatipora/Hyderbaig, which was Brigade headquarters. I spoke to the officer and intervened. He was only 14 years old. I said he was very small. I said that what you ask him he may even say something different. For 10-15 days he was kept in Hamray and then taken to Srinagar. Then he was released.

After that the crackdowns would continue. People used to come and tell me that you know how to talk. I had no choice but to assist. They used to insist that I intervene. But I decided, I would help even though it was dangerous. It was very difficult to deny the help to women. I helped hundreds of people. I always helped. I must have helped thousands of people. This is in the Pattan area. Those days it was generally crackdowns by the army. I used to intervene with the army. I used to call a meeting and the Brigadier used to come and meet people. I used to introduce the people to the Brigadier. I used to tell him that the people had no choice. The Brigadier would agree. The local police were also there and they too helped out. I used to go to Hyderbaig camp and many other camps. I never used to do any illegal interventions. I used to intervene in places where people were indirectly involved. So I used to intervene only in those cases. Once I even saved four people from Pattan. They were accused of being over ground workers.

Things were very tense when the Ikhwan were there. I told the army not to keep the Ikhwan in the Pattan area since people were alright here. Also the army was already organizing medical camps and things in 1994. So there was that interaction with the people. So, I spoke to the army about not keeping the Ikhwan in Pattan. Then the army did not allow them much in the Pattan area. I spoke directly with the Commanding Officer of Hyderbaig Camp about this. At that time the 2nd Garhwal Rifles was there i.e. in 1994/1995. The Ikhwan did function but only in Wusan Khoi, Palhallan etc. The army gave them an order not to be in the Pattan area. I was worried about the Ikhwan coming into the area as they could spoil things. When I told the army to not allow the Ikhwan, I was not worried about Ikhwan because I had security of the CRPF. Also, the Ikhwan knew that I had no personal motivation and that I was doing things on humanitarian grounds. But still the Ikhwan were not happy with me because I could talk to the army with respect whereas the Ikhwan were not given that level of respect. The Ikhwan was not really under anyone. But, even when they arrested someone I had to go and intercede with the army. The MM was then working with the army. Hayat Khan with the MM was from Mian Mohalla, Pattan.

I had to go to the Palhallan camp also to help people. Till 1999, the army, SOG etc were there. Then I am not sure what happened to the houses after that. When there was an attack on the SOG the houses did not fall. The camp did not cause a problem; it was only after they left that the problem happened. The camp used to call families of militants in 1996 for a few years to sleep at the camp. Inside the camp there were different units – army, CRPF etc. I used to talk to the unit that took the people. I never talked to Surjeet of the SOG much because he did not know how to talk. If things did not work at the camp with SOG, I would go to SSP Baramulla. But between the army and police – the police could request but they could not order but since they had a relationship they could request. When Mohammad Sidiq War's family was killed I went and asked the Deputy Commissioner to intervene.

In my village I had a neighbor who I saw as a father. This was the second time I had to intervene. His name was Ghulam Mohammad Magray. He is no more now. The Garhwal Rifles arrested him. He was sent to Baramulla sub-jail. He was kept in Pattan area for a few days first. Then there used to be a screening committee. I told them, I see him as a father.

I had no selfishness about fighting elections. I thought I go to army and they listen. I thought if I fight elections, I could approach at the State level as well. I fought elections as parliamentary candidate as I would have a voice.

I never sought awards for my work. But I did receive awards and recognition from the civil society in India. But, I was never given an opportunity to move ahead

even by my own political party. I used to get votes even in Palhallan. But subsequently the situation was controlled, put on boil, so that people do not give me votes.

The movement people would not have threatened the Kashmiri Pandits at Palhallan but other people might have. I do not think the Pandits were removed. But they chose to leave to save themselves.

10. Witness C, resident of Pattan. [The witness has requested anonymity and therefore all identifying information is withheld]

When the army could not get my brother, who was a militant, they used to arrest me. The first arrest happened with Dogra regiment. One day before the CRPF came from Humhama camp. I was having lunch. I had to go to duty. They asked about my brother. I said he comes here once in a while. They took me for a raid to his in-laws place and did not find anything. The second day the raid was by Dogra Regiment from Behrampora, Pattan. They did a raid here. They did a parade before that. A militant arrested by them identified me as the brother of a militant. I was taken to the Behrampora camp. They gave me electric shocks, roller treatment and hit me with sticks. The electric shocks were for the whole night. I was kept naked. Then they took me the next day to Hyderbaig camp where the headquarters was. They kept me also the whole night there. I think this was in 1992. Next morning they put me in a car and took me to Shariefabad camp. On the way, they stopped the convoy. My hands were tied and eyes closed. They tortured me once they stopped the convoy. Then in the evening we reached the camp at 5:00. They put me in the barracks. In the evening they said the officer was calling me. He asked me everything – about the place, militants, Ahsan Dar etc. There was no MM then, only HM. I said yes I knew Ahsan Dar. I was kept a night there. Next day he sent me back to Hyderbaig and I was released. They produced me before the Pattan police station. I returned home and then I was taken to the hospital. My stomach was gone and I had diarrhea. I got better slowly.

In 1994, officer Choudhary in Palapora arrested me. He was called Major Sahib and so he must have been a Major. I was taken to Hyderbaig camp and tortured there. Choudhary and a Commanding Officer Vijay Kumar were there. Choudhary was under Vijay Kumar. Later he was promoted in Chitranaar camp in Bandipora. There was a person Alibagh, Sopore. He was also shut with me then. They had made a plan to release him and they released him to Hayat, Azam Khan and then disappeared. The Thanedar – A.R. Badan said that Hayat and Azam had picked him up. I was tortured in a place inside Badamibagh as well where Major Choudhary took me. There was a place close to the road. There were cells inside. They removed my clothes. An officer tortured me there. He was a Major.

There was a person called Mohammad Maqbool Mir and he was called to the Chaksari camp. He had some affiliation with HM, as his brother was a militant. He was handed over to the Batpora camp Major – who was a killer. They tortured him the whole night. They showed him as a militant and killed him in a fake encounter in Shoush, Palapora, Pattan. The Tangmarg police then had the body. His brother was also tortured and killed by MM – Hayat Khan. Two people were taken – Mohammad Akbar Bhat, village level worker, resident of Pattan and the brother of Mohammad Maqbool – Mushtaq Ahmad Mir. Mushtaq was handicapped. Hayat tortured and killed them in 1994/1995.

Once the Batpora camp people also called me. There was a Major based there. It was Friday. They kept me in a room. I wanted to do prayers. They did not allow me. It was about 7:00 in the evening. A Major then came. They beat me and three ribs were broken. The Major tortured me till 12:00 at night.

Meanwhile, my son had also joined militancy. The reason was that once the army came when I was in Jammu and they took my son who was in class 10. They tortured him very badly at the end of the crackdown. That is when he decided to be a militant. He ran away in 1994. I was taken to Batpora in 1994 itself. My son returned after six years.

After 10-15 days, they called me to Chaksari camp. Sometimes it used to happen four times a day i.e. attendance. The Major then was Panday. After that was Vishal Dhobi, which was a code name. There may have been a Major in between. There was no Camp in Chaksari in 1993. It started in 1994. Panday was the Major till 1998. He came in 1996/1997. That day other surrendered militants were also there. The Batpora Major came. He saw me and tortured me really badly. My parents asked me to leave the village. But, I said I would not run.

My wife also died in the meantime. She died after my son was killed. They harassed her and beat her for weapons. A Major came from the Palhallan camp in 1998. This was before Kargil war. My wife was tortured in front of me. MM came along with them. A Chowkidars son called Latief was with MM and he was one of those that came. They took me and were beating me. She saw and started crying and caught the Major's gun. He then beat her and abused her a lot. They were asking for weapons. He had a gun and stick by which he beat her. My other relatives were also beaten regularly.

My son was killed in Kashmir itself in 2000 in an encounter.

Then one day the forces again came and called me to the camp. Vishal Dhobi was the Major then. I went in the evening. They tried to get me to work. A Captain spoke to me then. I refused. He then let me go.

Ahsan Dar is my friend even today. We were close from childhood. He had some problem with Salahuddin and things went wrong. There was a rumour that he had

left HM. He started a new group – mostly from Chaksari. He had some 30 odd people from Chaksari. One day I was going on the road and I met him. He said the HM people were troubling him. I said it had noting to do with me. This was August/September 1993. He said he would kill 30 Jamaat members. He basically threatened me. He said then HM would stop killing MM. That is how it started. One day I was in Rasipora – above Nihalpora - and the MM people came and dragged me out. Many of them were my students. My brother heard about this. There was a clash and I managed to escape. That's how it all started here.

The army used to supply weapons to MM. Even Ahsan Dar's militants were getting weapons from army. Even Ahsan Dar's brother – Mohammad Yousuf Dar was getting weapons from army. He used to work openly with army. Once I was coming from Pattan. There was a person called Mohammad Akbar from Vailoo. He was asking money from a medical shop. There was an army man right next to him. This happened in Pattan. The shopkeeper is alive. His name is Hafizullah Bhat. This was in 1994. Mohammad Akbar had a gun with him. This shows they were with army. The fight was happening from 1992 between HM and MM – but it was clear later the time my brother had died.

There was a Commanding Officer called Vijay Kumar in Hyderbaig. He used to supply weapons to the MM. There was a person called Haji Ghulam Ahmad Malik in Chaksari. They were friends. I do not know how the contact happened. Athar was also close to him. Ghulam Ahmad Malik was the coordinator for the army. He used to inform on people to the Major or Commanding Officer. Then he used to get people released for money. Then he would go to the Commanding Officer and request him to leave the person. I do not know whether he himself got the weapons. He was connected to Vijay Kumar. He was not running MM but he was supporting the MM.

Once MM people picked up a HM militant in Nihalpora. They killed him and disappeared him. His name was Abdul Majid Wani. They were 6-7 brothers. They knew MM did it. I do not know whether the Commanding Officer Kumar went to their house or they went to him. They told him that we would all become militants unless we get the body. The brothers were: Abdul Rashid Wani, Ghulam Qadir Wani, Farooq Ahmad Wani, Parvez Ahmad Wani, Showkat Ahmad Wani, Mohammad Ramzan Wani. After this Athar was picked up and asked to produce the body. Athar mentioned Bashir Ahmad Rather alias Javed as the person who knows. They picked up Bashir. Ultimately, the body was found. This incident was in 1994.

Athar was in some ways neutral. He had a gun. I saw him myself. He used to roam around with a gun. He entered where he saw a benefit. Athar never troubled me. He was like a friend. But, he did harm others. Once, Mohammad Akbar Ganie was collecting money in Behrampora. It was Ramzan time. He went to a family and troubled them. HM militants were above. When they saw they threw a grenade. He died there. Ahsan Dar's brother Yousuf was there and got injured. Another MM person was there who also got injured. Two to three days later, Athar went there. He went with MM but there was no army. He took Rs.1,00,000 from them. Three to four members of this family were killed. One person who died was named Ghulam Mohammad Ganie. Athar was working with MM till 1999. The others in MM were Mohammad Yousuf Dar [Ahsan Dar's brother], Bashir Ahmad Rather from Nihalpora, Abdul Majeed Mir alias Shaheen, Shoga from Nihalpora, Mohammad Maqbool Malla, Hayat and Azam Khan. The MM in Chaksari had direct access with Hyderbaig Camp. The Palhallan camp was also a shelter for the MM people.

Once Athar told me something when the split happened. He said Athar and others as civilians – Mohammad Akbar Dar, Abdul Jabbar Bhat, Abdul Satar Malik of Chaksari - went to Professor Gani. They told him that because of HM and MM people are dying. They said find a solution. Professor Gani only may have made MM. He said kill some big Jamaatis -10/15 and the situation will become fine. This was in Srinagar. This was the time when there were a lot of clashes. MM was in trouble then. That time the army connection was also clear.

Near Kunzer there is a village called Debug. Abdul Salam Malik was a teacher there. Army and MM killed him together in 1995. Fayaz Ahmad Dar of MM, resident of Chukar was involved. This may have been the time of Major Panday.

11. Witness D, resident of Pattan [The witness has requested anonymity and therefore all identifying information is withheld]

I was with HM and became a militant in 1990. I joined MM in 1992 when it got created. I think it started in April or so. MM started the fight with HM soon after. There was one fight in Chaksari but no one died. The firing was in the air mostly. From that side there were people from different places like Qasim from Tilgam and Abdul Ahad Mir from Nivran. Abdul Hamid Malik alias Athar was our Commander. He did not get training and go across. But he was earlier a policeman. There were other boys too. There was also Gulzar, and Shoga from Buran. Mohammad Yousuf Dar, brother of Ahsan Dar was also there. Abdul Ahad's brother Ghulam Mohammad was kidnapped actually on orders of Athar. This led to that fight.

When we, i.e. MM, had links with army, Ahsan Dar was shut. When HM attacked us we had no option but to be with the army. Mohammad Akbar Ganie from Vailoo was with army – he died in a grenade attack. Ghulam Nabi Rather alias Gulzar from Chaksari had a tie with army. He is alive. Athar did not really have a link in the open. He had links in private. We knew he had inside links with the army.

We used to get ammunition from Chaksari. But the weapons we had from earlier as militants. We did not meet the Major. Our Commander Athar used to get from them and give to us. Haji Ghulam Ahmad Malik had links with army in terms of getting people out. When we used to get caught by army, Gulzar also used to get us out. There was also an Abdul Majeed Mir, alias Shaheen who became Commander in Pattan. I knew that we were with army when army did not do anything to us. Athar was with MM till he was attacked in 2001. He was with the Chaksari camp till then. There was a Colonel Vijay Kumar in Hyderbaig camp. Our leaders used to meet him in the Chaksari camp but I never met him there.

Athar was once disappeared in Islamabad. Ahsan Dar was also in it. I was also stuck in the jungle those days. Azam Khan helped them escape. He then came later to work for MM.

Shoga had a fight with Athar over some Jamaat issue in November 1993. Shoga and me were then caught together in Nihalpora in Shoga's in-laws house. Commanding Officer Vijay Kumar came himself. Shaheen, Gulzar, Athar and others trapped Shoga and me. Majid Wani was killed by a person called Saleem, from Alibagh, Sopore and Shaheen. They dug a grave. Shoga and me were arrested on this. Shoga was not involved in that killing. We were not there when the body was dug out finally. Mohi-ud-Din Dar and Majid Teli from Warpora were arrested on the same killing. The soldiers took us as well to identify the body but we could not locate it. In this connection I was then detained in Hyderbaig camp for a month. Then Baramulla for 12 months. Then Udhampur for 14 months. Shoga was also detained with me throughout.

Chaksari camp reported to Hyderbaig camp. Our Commander was always Athar when I was around. I think he reported to Ahsan Dar. I think he used to go and meet him in jail. Athar used to say he was in touch with Ahsan Dar.

Commanding Officer those days was Vijay Kumar and Choudhary was a Major. Major Choudhary ran the MM [later he was transferred to a place in Bandipora]. Athar used to go to the camps as well. I never saw him going but we just knew.

There was a clear connection between MM and army. Once I was with a boy from Behrampora called Fayaz – we were coming from Nihalpora itself and the army was coming. They took us. They wanted us to do an ambush on HM. They put us in Chaksari camp. Gulzar came the next morning and got us released with weapons. This was in 1992. Athar knew about this from Gulzar. I told him as well. He did not say anything back. He knew what was happening. He laughed. Also, we never fired on army. The army also told us to not be open and that people should not find out. It was a Major before Panday who told us this. We never took shelter in the camp though. We did not stay in our houses in crackdowns. We were in different house. We hid. We did not come out. They never did anything to us. They knew us by face. We had gone to the camp and people knew our faces i.e. the army knew our faces. We were introduced by the Major to the soldiers as their people. They would not even come into our houses in a crackdown if they knew we were there. It happened a few times. Sometimes they would give us notice as well that they were coming. When I was with HM the army harassed me but not after that.

The Palhallan MM boys came under a different jurisdiction. Things were divided "beat wise". MM divided itself. Palhallan had as commanders Hayat Khan, then Azam Khan and then Shaheen. I am not sure after that.

The Jammu and Kashmir police had no role in those years. They were with the army of course during crackdowns. Also, for example in 1997, the Pattan police station had no link with the SOG in the Palhallan army camp.

Another incident that is important to recall is the killing of Gulzar. Sareer Khan was MM commander of Chandoosa. Gulzar, son of Abdul Jabbar Bhat, ran to Chandoosa there because of HM pressure. Saleem of Alibag, MM commander of Chaksari [he may have been below Athar or the other way around] was actually a rebel within the MM itself. He had issued a hit order against the witness, Shoga and others because they worked for the army. As a result, Saleem killed Gulzar as well.

12. Ghulam Hassan Bhat alias Hass Kaloo, Son of Ghulam Nabi Bhat, resident of Buran, Pattan

In 1989 I went to Pakistan with JKLF. I went on 9 November. I stayed there and did training for 40 days. I stayed in the JKLF and only returned after a year. We used to just sit around there, as there was no work. I came back with Harkat-ul-Mujahideen, which was here. Five of us came back, four from Buran including me and Showkat alias Shoga, Mohammad Ashraf Khan, Mohammad Sultan Bhat, and Ghulam Mohammad Pandit from Trikolbal. We were taken to a house in Wanganpora, Srinagar. The guy who took was called Mushtaq and he was from Wanganpora. We were there for 8-10 days and they took our weapons from us.

Then they did not call us. There was a man called Iqbal from Rambelgarh of JKLF. He asked us to go with him. I, Showkat, Mohammad Sultan and Mohammad Ashraf went with JKLF. After that I was with Wasim Bedar and Al Barq for a month.

Then I was at home. Athar from MM approached me as did HM people. Mohammad Ashraf Khan and Mohammad Sultan Khan died. Ashraf died in Kot Bhalwal jail in a jail fight. Mohammad Sultan died in Trikolbal – when we all were with Harkat-ul-Mujahideen. We were caught in a crackdown. This happened before we went to the Srinagar city. I was with MM for only a year – probably in 1994. I was arrested in 1995. I was

staying in this village. Hayat was from Pattan and Athar was in Chaksari. I worked for Hayat. Shoga worked under Athar.

Before I was arrested I know we used to get ammunition from Hayat. Otherwise when there was no ammunition we used to get it from Athar at his home. They used to give 300-400 bullets for the group. They told us to take care of ourselves. They did not tell us to kill anyone.

I found out about the MM and army connection during a crackdown. We were shut in a crackdown in Buran, Malpora. There were five of us. My wife came and told me there was a crackdown. I wanted to run but the others refused. I removed my gun and left. The army fired maybe because I had the weapons. The four boys told the army I think not to shoot. My wife was coming behind me. There was Mohammad Yousuf Kawa, Amma Waza and Mohammad Rafiq. This is when I found out about MM with army. Hayat was dead by then. 10 days later I was arrested. I was arrested because I left MM.

My arrest was fixed. There was an over ground worker called Nazir Halwa who was with these people. He said we have to go to Singhpora. I refused. He said you must. I went. Fayaz Malik came and asked us to sit in the house and have tea. We were sitting and the army came. The following were arrested: Nazir Halwa, Mushtaq Zargar, Ghulam Nabi Bhat [from Pattan] and Wasim Gadwani [from Gadwan]. They were released in a few days because they were working with the army. I was not. They asked me to work with the army but I refused. I thought the army was bad then – worse then now.

After my arrest in 1995, I was in Singhpora. I was taken to Hyderbaig camp as well where Aziz Garhwal did the torture. My teeth broke. I was not taken to Palhallan camp. I was in Hyderbaig camp for a month and then Baramulla JIC for a year.

After I returned from jail I started normal life. I started a shop of mattings in Pattan. Rashid Mian came once – he used to work with army. He put his car there. He took Rs. 50,000 worth of goods from me. He asked me to work with him. He said he will return but he never did. I refused to work with him. I left the work and kept my brother there.

I was tortured twice in militancy. After my release I was tortured six times. Once I was taken to Hyderbaig and I was also taken to Palhallan army camp. I was also tortured at my house. When I was taken to Hyderbaig there was a Major Malik there. This was 1996. I was arrested for 10 days.

Two months after having been taken to Hyderbaig camp, I was taken to Palhallan army camp. For 15 days I was tortured. The army handed me over to Kuldeep of SOG to torture me. My family intervened, met Kuldeep and he left me. I was tortured on another occasion as well by Kuldeep. My younger brother Mushtaq Ahmad Bhat was also tortured by I think army from Sopore because of me. They made him sign a document that says the army did not do anything.

Also, like others I had to go and give attendance at the Palhallan camp. We had to go once a week – on Sundays. This was after my arrest. This went for two years or maybe more. We had to go to Kuldeep and to the army. They would make note. This took half an hour. Sometimes they would ask us to do work like cutting grass. This was for all ex-militants. After the Palhallan camp left we had to go for Zangam camp till a few years back. The army was in charge of the Palhallan army camp and the police were under them.

Individual Stories of Violence: Testimonies

13. Abdul Rahim Reshi, son of Abdul Jabbar Reshi, resident of Palapora, Pattan, Occupation: Farmer

I was accused of working with militants even though I was not a militant. I was part of Jamaat-e-Islami. I had been arrested numerous times by the Palhallan army camp. In addition, I had been beaten on numerous occasions including by personnel of the Hyderbaig army camp. On one occasion ASI Surjeet and DSP Kuldeep came with their personnel. Ghulam Mohammad Lone, alias Gul Kandur, a baker and government gunman, resident of Palhallan, also accompanied them. I was beaten with sticks, a roller was put on my legs, and my head was dipped in water for three to four minutes each time. A Dogra person did the actual torture. ASI Surjeet did not himself physically touch me. When I was detained at the Palhallan army camp there were other people there as well, such as, Mohammad Akbar Bhat, resident of Aglar. Around 15 people were kept in a room of dimensions 8 by 8 which had enough room for only around three people. During my detention at Palhallan army camp, my family members would bring me food and my family had to pay for this food. On numerous occasions the SOG released me only after the payment of money – anything from Rs. 100 to 10,000. An officer named "Major Behra" was also at the Palhallan army camp. This Major tortured me as well in 2000.

On one occasion the army and SOG came looking for Abdul Rashid Hajam, also known as Farhat Sahib. This was in 1993 or 1994. I was put inside water and my mother; Azizi was dragged by her hair, and was told that if she did not reveal the whereabouts of Hajam they would kill me. Then they put some grass and sticks and put me on top of it and set it on fire. Because I was in water before that for about four hours, I was numb and did not feel much. Further, as it was winter the fire did not burn that much either. But still I did get burn marks and my beard got burnt. Then a Commanding Officer came. He asked about the "guest" at my house. He also scolded the soldiers who had tortured me.

Ghulam Mohammad Mir, resident of Nivran, and others in 1993/1994 were also tortured. He was arrested by the Palhallan army camp and taken to Hyderbaig. Others picked up were Abdul Majid Hajam, Abdul Rashid Hajam's younger brother, Mohammad Assadullah Malik, son of Abdul Rehman Malik. They were tortured at Hyderbaig camp. Abdul Majid was kept there for six months. Assadullah Malik was kept there for five to six days, and Ghulam Mohammad Mir was kept there for about a month. They were tortured. For example, Abdul Majid was made to hug a charcoal stove.

14. Ghulam Ahmad Dar, resident of Wusan Khoi, Pattan

My son, Abdul Ahad Dar, was arrested by Major Samir Khan of the Wusan camp and then handed him over to the officer named Major Liyaqat from the Palhallan army camp. Following a prolonged disappearance the body of my son was found. The family received this information subsequently. Following the Palhallan army camp, my son was taken to the Hyderbaig camp. We, his family, were not allowed to meet him. We searched extensively for him. Subsequently, we found out that he had been killed around a month after his abduction.

A person named Manzoor Naikoo, resident of Palhallan, was digging in an orchard and he found the body of my son. The body was handed over to the Pattan Police Station. At that point we were in Islamabad. On reaching Pattan, I was taken in a SOG vehicle and asked to identify the body. Meanwhile, a person named Latief Ganie, resident of Mazhama, had already seen the body. He worked as guard to the DSP at Pattan. My son had earlier been hiding at the residence of Latief and therefore Latief could recognize him. I also identified my son's body. There was blood on both sides of his mouth. He was buried in the martyr's graveyard. The jurisdiction of Wusan is actually the Sumbal Police Station but as the body was found elsewhere it came under Pattan Police Station. There are witnesses who saw the victim being arrested by Major Samir Khan.

We received SRO-43 benefits and Rs. 100,000 as ex-gratia relief from the government. Seven months after the disappearance of my son, I was arrested by government gunmen and taken to the Palhallan army camp for two and a half hours. A Major took me to Pattan Police Station. I was arrested because I had filed a case against Major Liyaqat.

Our house was burnt on two occasions. My son used to accompany some JKLF militants but on being warned by a HM militant he stopped doing so. Then he worked as a contractor. He had never been arrested prior to his disappearance. Based on information subsequently learnt by me, the victim was in the Wusan camp for about 25 days, and for one month and eleven days at the Palhallan army camp.

15. Jana Begum, aged 45 years old, Wife of Ghulam Mohammad Dar, resident of Wusan Khoi, Pattan

I am sister-in-law of Abdul Ahad Dar. The victim, Abdul Ahad Dar, was associated with JKLF. While he was on the run, army from the Wussan camp used to come to search the house almost every day. None of the male members of the family dared to stay in the house for the fear that they might be captured.

In 1995, my husband and brother were held in the camp for six days, and asked to provide details about Abdul Ahad. They were released after six days. A week after this, Major Samir Khan from the Wussan camp again came to the area. It was the month of Ramzan. Some people informed me that Major Khan was looking for me and had asked me to meet him near the Chinar tree. I went there. Major Khan asked me where the men of the family were. I told him that I did not have any idea. I further asked him how he expected me to go out looking for the men. He got angry at the response and asked his men to put me inside the vehicle. The people around kept watching. No one could utter a word because everyone was afraid of the army.

I was held in the Wusan camp for thirteen days. There were no female soldiers there. For the first two days, I was ruthlessly beaten by soldiers who would come into the room one after the other and start beating me with rods. I was held by the hair and dragged all across the camp. Then Major Samir Khan got three men from the village to be with me as guards. This was perhaps done to have witnesses that they did not sexually harass me. The room was seven by seven and it was very difficult for four people to adjust there. I was not beaten after the first two days.

A locally influential politician then intervened and because Eid was approaching, he asked them to let me go. I was released after thirteen days. But even after this, the army continued to visit our residence and enquire about the male members of the family. Further, in the evening every day, I was expected to report to Major Samir Khan in the camp and tell him where I was for the day and if I was able to locate the men.

On four occasions I was asked by the army to accompany them for house-to-house searches as well. A local informer, Yousuf Mir, would actually lead the army to the houses but then I would also be taken along, although I was kept at a distance and asked to wait there while they did their job. Once at night, I was asked to accompany them to Naidkhai and Markipora.

After my brother-in-law was killed the army did not trouble the family again.

16. Abdul Majeed Khan, resident of Bhat Mohalla, Pattan, occupation: Tailor.

Abdul Hameed Khan, my brother, was associated with HM from 1992-1993, and in 1993 he returned his weapons back to the organisation and had nothing to do

with HM after that.

On 5 February 1995, my brother came back to his home in the evening at around 6:00 pm. It was the 15th day of the month of Ramzan and my brother was fasting. He was taking his evening meal when there was a knock at the door. I opened the door and identified Ghulam Mohammad, resident of Palhallan, and Batu Sofi, son of Ghulam Mohammad Sofi, resident of Pattan at the door. They asked for my brother and in the meanwhile my brother came to the gate to see what was happening. I went inside to wear my slippers when those people took my brother. There were others also present along with those two. This I found out from the neighbors who also informed me that the army was also accompanying those government gunmen.

We then went to the police station at Pattan. But Ghulam Rasool, a Munshi at the police station, refused to file the FIR. He asked us to wait till the morning. We then tried to find my brother. I tried to follow the lead of some shopkeepers who witnessed the abduction and informed me that my brother was taken to Palhallan. I tried to go to the government gunmen camp in Tantray Mohalla in Palhallan, but the army stopped me and did not let me cross Baba Taing camp. We returned home then and waited till morning.

In the morning of 6 February 1995, I and my three neighbours, namely: Mohammad Shafi Bhat, son of Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Bhat, Ghulam Nabi Wani, son of Ghulam Mohammad Wani and Nazir Ahmad Sofi, son of Mohammad Ramzan Sofi, again went to the Pattan police station but were told that the Station House Officer (SHO) had not yet come. We went to the nearby market of Pattan and waited for the SHO. At around 9-9:15 am, we again went to the police station where we saw 3-4 army trucks inside the premises of the Police Station. We asked the gatekeeper to let us meet the SHO, but we were informed that SHO was in a meeting with the army and could take time there. In the meantime our other relatives also came. We waited for around an hour and after seeing army trucks leaving the premises, we again approached the station, and this time met the SHO. SHO told me not to worry as my brother was alive and would return back in an hour or so.

When we came out of the police station, a few unknown people told us that there was some firing at Palhallan and that the army had called the police there and told about a dead body, which was then handed over to police. Those people said that the body could be of my brother. The scene became very chaotic after this, and amidst this, someone told me that the body had arrived in the police station. The body was then recovered from the police station and taken to Jamia Masjid, Pattan for last rituals. Then the body was taken and buried in the Martyr's graveyard.

We went to the police station the following day to file the FIR but were informed that the army had already filed an FIR. My brother-in-law was a constable with the police and he told me that the FIR registered stated that a pistol was found from Abdul Hameed, which is of course completely untrue. We have received no compensation.

17. Rumaya Sami, wife of Zahoor Ahmad Bhat, resident of Bhat Mohalla, Pattan

My husband Zahoor Ahmad Bhat went to Pakistan for arms training and came back on 1 August 1990. He was first arrested during crackdown on 17 March 1992. The crackdown lasted for three days starting from 15 March. In these three days my husband moved from one place to another in search of hideouts. On 17 March he was arrested from Sub-District Hospital Pattan along with a doctor. Both my husband and the doctor were taken to Badamibagh Cantonment, Srinagar. The doctor was released within a week. But my husband was kept in detention till 29 January 1993. Through this doctor, Zahoor sent us information. But we only received this information about his whereabouts after one and a half months and we went to meet him at Badamibagh. We met him thrice at Badamibagh. When we met him the first time at Badamibagh, his right hand was plastered, implying he was tortured while in detention. After sometime he was shifted to Kot Bhalwal jail, Jammu. We went to Jammu twice to meet him. From there he was shifted to Central Jail, Jammu. From there he was shifted to Central Jail, Srinagar and from there to Baramulla District Jail from where he was released on 29 January 1993.

After his release, he started a medical shop. In the year 1995, unidentified government gunmen entered his shop and started firing. Zahoor got five shots and was taken to hospital where he underwent surgery and took around seven to eight months to recover. After that we alongwith our one year old child shifted to Sanatnagar, Srinagar.

While in Srinagar, he was appointed in Government Primary School, Magam [Malburshan]. He used to travel back and forth from Sanatnagar to work daily.

In 1996, army picked him up from his school at Magam. A local government gunman named Muma Kanna accompanied army. He was arrested and kept in Magam army camp for five days. He was tortured in the camp and was released after five days. I saw torture marks on his back. In Magam Camp, an army Major assured him about his safety as he was a government employee and suggested him to return back to our house at Pattan. We then moved back to our home in Pattan from Sanatnagar.

He stayed at home for about a month when he was again picked by army of Chaksari camp. He was picked up at night and was kept for around five days and then released. Upon his release, he was asked to go Palhallan camp every Sunday to mark his attendance. He followed the instructions and resumed his daily life.

On 7 August 1998, at around 10:30 pm, SOG and government gunmen came and arrested my husband from our home. He was picked violently in whatever position he was, without shoes. SDPO Abdul Rashid Khan alias Rashid Billa was present during his arrest. We went to the police station to lodge an FIR but police personnel did not let us enter inside the police station. On 8 August 1998, we heard the news of a person found dead in Zangam. We went there at around 8:00 am and found the dead body of Zahoor there. He was shot on the forehead. We brought him home and performed last rituals.

We family tried to lodge FIR but the police did not file it and after some time when we again went there, we were handed over an FIR filed by police itself. But the information stated in FIR is false. We also approached DSP Farooq Reshi to file the right FIR but he did not help us. We never received any compensation but anyway we never applied for it.

18. Mohammad Ismail Sheikh, son of Ghulam Mohi-ud-din Sheikh, resident of Tantraypora, Palhallan, occupation: shopkeeper

In the year 1987, after the Muslim United Front (MUF) elections, members of Jamaat-e-Islami were arrested. Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Sheikh, my father, was also arrested, as he too was the member of Jamaat. He was released after nine months.

In 1989, Mohammad Sultan Sheikh, my uncle, went across to Pakistan for arms training. As a result, the army and BSF began raids at our house. During the raids army/BSF personnel beat our family members. My father was again arrested on account of Mohammad Sultan Sheikh by the army of Badamibagh cantonment, Srinagar. There in the camp, army was asking him about his brother. On the third day in the camp, he was thrown out of the camp on the road. From there some local person brought him home in his vehicle.

This harassment compelled me to go across for arms training in June 1990. In September 1990, I came back from Pakistan and worked here as an active member of Hizbul Mujahedeen. In September 1990, I was unwell and was admitted in Soura Hospital. On the next day, after I was discharged from there, army raided the house of my maternal uncle namely Mohammad Munawar Mir at Raipora, Palhallan, where I was staying then. The army of 22 Grenadiers, Hamray Camp, arrested me. They kept me in their camp for 55 days. For the first week in the camp I was tortured. I was stripped and hung upside down for seven hours. While I was hung, army personnel were beating me with the sticks. This torture happened for the first day only and for rest of the week I was beaten off and on.

After 55 days in the Hamray Camp, I was shifted to Badamibagh cantonment, Srinagar. There I was beaten too off and on and was kept for 15 days. It was December of 1991 and I was shifted to the Kot Bhalwal Jail, Jammu for 13 months. For the first few days I was beaten there too and sometimes food was not given to me. In 1992, when I was in Kot Bhalwal Jail, my uncle, Mohammad Mohammad Sheikh, was killed in an encounter by army at Haigam.

In November 1992, I was shifted to Hira Nagar Jail, Jammu and was booked under PSA. I was detained there till March 1993. After that I was shifted to Jodhpur Jail, Rajasthan. On 26 November 1994, I was released.

During the time when I was under detention, the army harassed my family many times. My family had migrated to another locality - Shalpora, Palhallan. The army then harassed my family at that place as well. Then my family bought a new house at Marazi Mohalla, Palhallan to get rid of this harassment. After my release, the army continued the harassment again.

In December 1994, a new camp was built at the Higher Secondary School, Palhallan. Then I and other male members of the family were ordered to appear in the camp daily. The first regiment in the camp was Garhwal Rifles and Major Aziz Garhwal was the officer in command then.

In June 1995, the government gunmen of Palhallan had a camp in Kaw Mohalla, Palhallan. They also started to harass my family and were asking for money. They took money many times from my father.

In October 1995, an ex-militant namely Mohammad Ramzan Malik of Palhallan was killed by State forces. My family, including me, under threat to life, left to Delhi.

On 17 January 1996, the Delhi Police arrested my father in Delhi. He was kept in Tihar Jail. He was accused of being a member of Jamaat. In the Tihar jail, Home Minister S.B. Chauhan visited twice and met him there. The Home Minister offered him to work for him and money was also offered to him. But he did not agree to the offers of the Home Minister. In Tihar jail he was kept for five months and after that he was shifted to Kot Bhalwal till July 1998. Then he was shifted to Pattan Police Station and was released from there in August 1998.

While all this was happening with my father, I was in Delhi. I stayed there for two years and after that I came to Jammu and stayed there. After the release of my father, two government gunmen identified as Mohammad Nabi Kawa and Nazir Ahmad Lone harassed my father and demanded money from him. Then my father gave them some money (exact amount not known) to get rid of them.

On 25 June 1999, my father was shot dead by some unidentified gunmen while he was going to Masjid for evening prayers. He was taken to the SMHS Hospital, Srinagar. There he died at around 11:00 pm. I was then in Jammu and was informed about his death. On the same evening when my father was killed, SOG officers identified as DSP Kuldeep and Surjeet (one star) raided my house.

After my father's death, I was ordered by the army to appear in Palhallan camp regularly. I obeyed the order and appeared in the camp till 2001 i.e. till the camp was stationed there.

In 2003, the army took me to Hyderbaig camp of 29 RR. I was tortured. I was hung by my hands for two hours and was beaten by a few army personnel along with Major Rohit Sharma. Due to this torture I felt unconscious. I was kept there for one day only.

In 2004, I was ordered to appear at the Wussan camp of 29 RR. There a Major Vishal Dhobi, whom I knew, beat me for half-an-hour. I was kept for a day.

In November 2006, my brothers Ali Mohammad Sheikh and Sonaullah Sheikh were in Delhi. Delhi police arrested them. They were arrested, as I was a militant. On 27 November 2006, my brothers were offered by Special Cell of Delhi Police, to work for them. But they disagreed. Then they were accused of possessing RDX. Delhi Sessions Court sentenced them for 10 years. But we approached the High Court and managed to reduce their sentence. Both were released in 2014.

In the 2010 uprising, my nephew Adil Ramzan Sheikh, aged 12 years, was killed by Pattan Police and CRPF. He was injured and was taken to Pattan hospital by people. Police of Pattan and CRPF dragged him out of the hospital and shot him dead. Abdul Majeed of Poonch was the then SHO and Sajad Ahmad Shah was the SDPO.

MM, working from 1992, killed/disappeared the following people from the area, as follows:

- *Tariq Ahmad Teli, son of Sonaullah Teli, ex-militant of HM, resident of Pattan who was a released HM militant was killed in 1994.*
- *Ghulam Qadir Khanday, resident of Buran, Pattan. He was not a militant. He was accused of supporting the HM. I believe Hayat Khan and Azam Khan killed him.*
- *Fayaz Ahmad Dar was disappeared. I believe Azam Khan and Hayat Khan did this.*
- *Mushtaq Ahmad Mir, resident of Chaksari.*

Mohammad Yousuf Tantray (Kawa), son of Ghulam Nabi Tantray, from MM was killed by HM. His father was also with MM. When he was killed, Ghulam Nabi came with the body and apologized to HM. They were then quiet for a while but then they started working again. This was in December 1994. Ghulam Nabi Tantray's nephew Mohammad Maqbool Tantray was an Al-Jehad militant and he was earlier disappeared in 1993. Ghulam Nabi Tantray was himself killed later.

19. Khurshid Maqbool Mir, son of Mohammad Maqbool Mir, resident of Chaksari, Pattan, Occupation: Teacher

On 11 July 1998, at around 5:30 pm, Major Panday visited my father's home and asked my mother to inform my father that he had to come to Ghulam Qadir's home, who was a source of the army and our neighbor. My father went. There the Major asked him to surrender the arms and ammunitions within two days but my father said that he did not have any weapons and that even after two days his answer would be the same.

One week before this, Major Panday had visited our house, had a meal and took Rs. 70,000 in exchange for not harming us. But, then and there, my father was captured and was tortured in Ghulam Qadir's home. Then at around 8:00 pm, he was taken to the chinar tree in the vicinity and was physically assaulted in front of the villagers. Then he was taken to Chaksari camp, Pattan.

The next day a crackdown took place in the village and my father was brought there before the people and he was tortured again. At around 1:00 pm they took him back to the camp. Then on the next day at the crackdown he was dragged barefoot through the village to make an example of him. On the same day, 13 July, army was looking and searching for me, my mother – Jana, and my other brother - Ghulam Mohammad Mir. They searched the whole day. But we had fled our house. We hid in our relatives' homes in the same village.

On 14 July, the villagers were informed by the police about the dead body of my father at Tangmarg. Villagers brought back the dead body and performed the last rituals. We were all still hiding in Hamray, Pattan at this time. We could not be a part of the last rites of my father.

Javed Ahmad Mir, son of Ghulam Mohammad Mir, a Hurriyat member, lodged an FIR on behalf of Tehreek-i-Hurriyat party and stated that Major Panday had picked up my father on 11 July and kept hold of him till 14 July. On 14 July the dead body was handed over. But the army FIR stated that he was brought to Ziran, Tangmarg, for interrogation where he revealed hidden weapons near the village but they could never be recovered. But, finally on the same day he dug one location, found grenades, and he picked up a grenade and threw it at the army but it did not explode. In retaliation he was fired at and he died.

20. Mohammad Sidiq War, son of Assadullah War, resident of Palapora, Pattan, Occupation Irrigation Department employee.

My brother's name is Ghulam Nabi War [alias Aamir-ul-Islam] and was an active militant. He became a militant in 1991 or 1992. He went across to Pakistan and then returned two years later and was active in Kashmir for about five-six months with HM. He is presently residing in Pakistan.

Due to his involvement with militancy, the army,

government gunmen and the SOG punished my family repeatedly. The Hyderbaig army camp – which included the 29 RR and at a different point the Gurkha Regiment - would regularly beat me my other family members including our eldest brother Mohammad Sultan War, my father, mother, Mohammad Sultan's wife Fareeda, Nazir Ahmad, another brother, and his wife Zareefa, and my wife Mumtaza as well. Personnel of the Raj Rifles from the Palhallan army camp also beat us.

The most horrific violence that my family faced was on 9/10 February 2000. At around 1:00 am at night the SOG along with the government gunmen came and attacked my family. The following people were at home at that point besides me: my wife, who was pregnant then, my father aged 70 years, my mother, my son Mushtaq Ahmad who was only eight months old, Fareeda and her three children: Javed Ahmad War, Safir Ahmad War and Tanveera, my sister Tasleema and her seven month child Sahil Ahmad War, another sister Saleema's 19 year old son Javed Ahmad Bhat, and my brother Nazir Ahmad War's daughter Fancy, who was nine years old. A total of 13 people were at home. Except for Fareeda and her children, the remaining people were all on the ground floor of the single storeyed house. That night, at 1:00 pm, there was a knock on the door. I had already been told by my father not to be at home as I was repeatedly being harassed. So when there was a knock on the door I was asked by my wife to hide in the chimney in the kitchen. My father opened the door. They were ordered to put their hands up. By this time my father had already waked everyone up and they were all downstairs in the corridor. Saja, my mother, had a lantern. It was a rainy day and there was snow as well. We were sure it was SOG personnel outside. But, at that point, we could not identify anyone. Immediately after opening the door they started firing indiscriminately on all the people in the corridor.

Subsequently, the family came to know that the people involved were ASI Surjeet [who rose from the level of driver/constable], and Manna Grenade a government gunman. Both of them were working along with the Rashtriya Rifles. Further, that night, some personnel of the Rashtriya Rifles were also present.

My father died on the spot. Javed Ahmad Bhat, son of Saleema and Mohammad Ismail, resident of Pakipora, an adjacent village, Fancy, Mushtaq Ahmad and Tanveera were also killed. Mushtaq Ahmad received a bullet and fell out of the arms of his mother. My wife was injured and had two bullet wounds, on her left shoulder and her right arm. My father received a full burst of bullets on his head and chest, as did Javed Ahmad Bhat. Fancy received a bullet on her neck, Tanveera on her head and Mushtaq Ahmad on his chest. My mother, Saja, was hit in the heart from a round of firing. She had to then have surgery. She is handicapped as well due to the injuries caused.

Immediately after the attack, my wife, who was also injured, saw that the attackers had left. She told me that everyone had been killed – which was her initial impression. I headed to the local masjid. She in turn left for her uncle's place in Ganai Mohalla, which was close by and woke him up. Her father at that point was not in the village. Her uncle and others then came to the place of the massacre. Saja and my wife were first taken to the army hospital. Before that they were taken to the Commanding Officer, and then they were taken to the Hyderbaig MI room. I was accompanying them. From 2:00 am to 6:00 am we were at the army hospital. Since their condition was poor, and my wife was pregnant, they were then taken to Srinagar in an army vehicle. They were taken to SMHS, and then subsequently my wife was taken to the Bone and Joint Hospital in Barzulla, in Srinagar. She remained there for about five days. My mother remained in hospital for five months. ASI Surjeet came to the hospital at that time. He did not say anything but he was clearly keeping a watch on us. My father-in-law, Asadullah Ganie, was in the police, and was on duty when the event happened. Masooda, also called Masrat, is my sister-in-law and she told us about ASI Surjeet's presence at the hospital. At that point R.K. Jalla was in charge of the SOG, Operations. DSP Kuldeep was also present those days in the police in the area. Further, ASI Surjeet once came to the hospital SMHS and directly threatened me not to file a FIR.

Despite knowing the identity of the perpetrators we, out of fear, filed a FIR [30/2000 at Police Station Pattan] blaming the massacre on unknown gunmen. We also processed our case for SRO-43 in 2002 and received compassionate employment and Rs. 200,000 ex-gratia relief [for the death of father and our son]. In addition, the family of Javed Ahmad Bhat also received Rs. 100,000 and SRO-43 benefits. Family of Fancy received Rs. 100,000 and the family of Tanveera received Rs. 100,000 as ex-gratia relief.

My family and I suffered on numerous other occasions. This was essentially because the armed forces knew that my brother was a militant. In 1998 I was arrested and taken to the CRPF camp at Palhallan. I was beaten in one of the Kashmiri Pandit houses. I was also beaten at the JD camp, which was in front of the Baramulla Matches Factory. I was tortured by the CRPF for 19 days. But, my family used to sit outside there. So one day they saw me by chance and then they told the Superintendent of Police. A policeman had tipped them off from Pakipora that they should keep an eye on the JD camp for Mohammad Sidiq War. Due to the assistance of the then SP, Muneer Khan, I was brought back to Pattan and then released. But on this occasion, SP Muneer Khan also stole Rs. 10,000 worth of medicines that were in my possession.

I was taken maybe some 100 times by the Palhallan army camp and beaten there as well. ASI Surjeet was there. DSP Kuldeep too was there but he generally did not come out of the camp. The Hyderbaig camp also took me, maybe some five times. But, there I was not beaten. On one occasion the Gurkha Regiment came and asked about my brother. My other brothers had

been beaten as well on occasions.

In addition to the above, government gunmen stole money from the locals, and women found it difficult as they were often harassed. As a result, my sister-in-laws stopped their studies. Neither my mother nor I are able to get a passport.

21. Assadullah Ganie, resident of Palapora, Pattan

I am the father-in-law of Mohammad Sidiq War. At the time of the attack on his family, including my daughter, I was posted as Sub-Inspector at Khanyar Police Station. The Inspector General of Police (IG) Kashmir had provided security for the family at the hospital. I too saw ASI Surjeet at the hospital. But once ASI Surjeet saw me, he left. When the attack happened the 13 Grenadiers were also in the region, as was 29 Rashtriya Rifles.

I, myself, have been subject to attacks. In 1996 there was a plan by militants to kill me. But I never saw them and they never actually attacked me. The government gunmen also harassed me. This was either because people in the area spread things against me or maybe because my son-in-law's brother was a militant.

The government gunmen came to attack me in 1995. Those days I was posted as the 2nd Officer at Police Station Islamabad [in 1997 I was posted at Safakadal Police Station, then as Duty Officer in Batamaloo, then 2nd Officer in Shergari Police Station, and then at the end of 1999 at Khanyar Police Station]. It was my daughter Shamshada's wedding [other daughters were Shakeela, Mumtaza, Masarat/Masooda, Rukhsana, Alia, and Jannat]. Government gunmen were harassing us for money then. When they came in 1995 they had come to fire but I asserted and managed to chase them away. I had a pistol with me as well. These government gunmen were connected to Palhallan army camp. Their names were: Saleem [whose real name was Abdul Hamid Khan, son of Saif Khan, resident of Wanigam Bala] and Habib. They were both at the time PSOs to Abdul Ahad Yatoo. The other government gunman, who is now dead, was Rizwan, resident of Wanigam. At that time, Aziz Garhwal of the Garhwal Rifles was at the Palhallan army camp.

In 1996, the government gunmen attacked again. This time, they kidnapped my daughter Rukhsana. I followed them as they went to Pakipora. The army then cordoned the entire area of Pakipora. I had a gun with me. My brother-in-law Mohammad Ashraf Malik accompanied me. The army asked us to put our hands up. I surrendered my gun and told the army that some unknown gunmen had taken my daughter. I lied as the pro-government anyway worked for the army. I was scared the army would kill me if I said the government gunmen under their control had taken my daughter. The army then brought me back to my house. They told me to go to the Palhallan army camp the next day.

I informed the Inspector General of Police, Kashmir. He got two vehicles, and accompanied by SHO Mir Hussain [he was from Poonch, part of armed police and used to work with the SOG], we raided the village of Wanigam Bala. Abdul Ahad Yatoo made an announcement from the masjid to release Rukhsana. But, the government gunmen did not do so even though they were Abdul Ahad Yatoo's PSOs. Instead they surrendered before S.K. Sharma of the 10 Sector at Zorawar Cinema. Abdul Ahad Yatoo was also based there. At 10:00 pm, Inspector Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din, resident of Nutnusa, Kupwara and I met S.K. Sharma. Only S.K. Sharma and Rukhsana were there. She had not been beaten. But she had been dragged through thorns and her legs were bruised. A full medical examination was also done. She had been kept at Saleem's house.

FIR no. 79/1996 was filed at the Pattan Police Station. The accused were arrested. A charge-sheet was filed. But I ultimately did not testify, as I was worried about my daughter.

The incident of 9/10 February 2000 has a background that needs to be told. Prior to the incident, Ghulam Mohammad Reshi, working as a SPO with the army came and met Mohammad Sidiq War. He told him that if anything happens to his family, he would attack War. He and his two daughters, Posha and Parveena used to also work with the army as SPOs. They were killed on 9 February at around 6:00 or 6:30 pm. But, Mohammad Sidiq War did not know about this. If he had known he would not have remained at home as he would have anticipated an attack. Further, on 9 February night, I was informed by a Commanding Officer of a Battalion – Patil about the killing of Ghulam Mohammad Reshi and family. On hearing this, I arrived the next morning. Further, witnesses subsequently informed the family of Mohammad Sidiq War that Manna Grenade and ASI Surjeet went to the house of Ghulam Mohammad Reshi at about 1:00 am on 10 February. They heard about the killings there and vowed to take revenge by attacking Mohammad Sidiq War's family. Khurshi, who is now deceased, and was the mother of Ghulam Mohammad Reshi, informed Mohammad Sidiq War's family about this subsequently. Further, Raja, wife of Ghulam Mohammad Reshi, also told them later about this. She too was a witness to this. At this time, Qayoom Manhas was the Senior Superintendent of Police of the region and the Deputy Commissioner, Baramulla was Shakir Hussain. SDPO then was Farooq Reshi who was also a terror in the area. Nonetheless, I remember that one of my daughters slapped him out of anger when he arrived post the massacre. There was also a dharna then for the removal of the Palhallan army camp. But, it was only removed sometime later. To continue with the background story, Posha had married Farooq. He lived alone. They had a fight and Farooq beat her. So she returned to Ghulam Mohammad Reshi's residence. Subsequently, Ghulam Mohammad Reshi insulted sister-in-law of Farooq, Akram's wife. This laid to

tensions and ultimately the SOG got involved. Once the SOG, and specifically ASI Surjeet were involved, they did not leave Ghulam Mohammad Reshi's family alone and all three – Ghulam Mohammad Reshi, Posha and Parveena became PSOs.

22. Mumtaza, aged 37, wife of Mohammad Sidiq War, resident of Palapora, Pattan

My brother-in-law, Ghulam Nabi, was an active militant for some months before he went to Pakistan. So, the family would be troubled. Men would be taken away frequently or asked to give money. They would beat all family members, whenever they came asking about the whereabouts of Ghulam Nabi. They would kick and hit the women, throw away all the utensils in kitchen, and even abuse the women and threaten us of dire consequences. This used to happen five to eight times every month. Whenever we heard them coming, we would not stay in the house for fear of what they could do to us. We would run outside and stay there, as at least it was a bit safer.

In 1999, my husband was taken to the Palhallan camp. I went there to seek his release. Gul Kandur used to work for the SOG (he was later killed by militants) asked me to develop relations with Surjeet and if I provide sexual favours to him my husband will be allowed to let go or else he would be held for a long time, because they were already in the process of preparing papers against him. I did not care that I was in the camp. I did not feel any fear. I abused him as much as I could. I told him that they could do whatever they wished and that I was not someone who would engage in something so degrading. I left the camp and met my father and told him what had transpired between Gul Kandur and me. My father went to Baramulla and met R.K. Jhala, asking him to help with my husband's release. Jhala abused my father, telling him that despite being in the police, my father was siding with the family of terrorists and had even married his daughter there. My father kept trying, got all the necessary papers and after 17 days, my husband was released.

When the 9/10 February 2000 massacre happened [referred in the earlier testimony]*, I was three months pregnant. I suffered a miscarriage within a month of the firing incident. I know it was Surjeet leading the group. I saw him myself.*

My sister Rukhsana was kidnapped by government gunmen Saleem, Rizwan and Habib one evening in 1996. They came specifically asking for her and took her away at gunpoint. She was found after three days in Wanigam. She had not been given anything to eat for those days. She said she had not been sexually abused but tied up and gagged. But we wanted to be sure. She was really afraid and was not even talking much. So we thought she might not be telling us what really was done to her. We took her to a gynecologist in Pattan, Dr. Shafqat who examined her and confirmed that she had not been raped. But she had marks all over her arms because she was given electric shocks. She faced a lot of problems. People made up stories about her, how she was not of good character. Then we married her off to our cousin. We could never find out why the government gunmen took her.

23. Reyaz Ahmad Farhat, son of Abdul Rashid Hajam [Farhat], resident of Palhallan, Pattan

My father was an active member of Jamaat-e-Islami. Like many other activists of Jamaat, my father was also arrested many times by State forces.

My father was first arrested in 1987 by the police from his house and jailed in Hira Nagar Jail, Jammu for two years. After his release, he was again arrested on 26 July 1989 by BSF from Wusan market. He was taken to Old Airport, Rangreth, a detention center, where he was kept for two months and later shifted to Hari Niwas, a notorious torture center. In Hari Niwas he was detained for three months during which he was tortured. Then he was shifted to Kot Bhalwal Jail, Jammu and detained there for one and a half year.

After his release, he continued his association with Jamaat as Amir-e-Tehsil [sub-district president] and was elevated to member Majlis-e-Shoora (decision making body) of Jamaat.

In 1994, for the first time, a military camp comprising Garhwal Rifles was established in the Palhallan area. As soon as the camp was established the soldiers began raids at our house twice a day. The daily raids forced my father and Mohammad Maqbool, another Jamaat activist living in same area, to migrate to Srinagar. My father started living with his relatives at Bemina while Mohammad Maqbool stayed at Hawal in downtown Srinagar. However, there was no let up in the raids. Along with Garhwal, the raids were conducted by government gunmen particularly Mohammad Shaban Kawa, Ghulam Nabi Kawa, Ismaiel Kawa, Aziz Rather, his son Bashir Rather, Ghulam Ahmad Waza, Mohammad Abdullah Itoo, Habibullah Mir and his son Latief Ahmad Mir, Ghulam Nabi Kochka, Jabbar Kanna, two gunmen with same name Abdul Rashid Gania, Bashir Ahmad Gania, all of whom were residents of Palhallan and were working with the Garhwal regiment.

On 29 November 1995, Major Kambli of Garhwal along with his soldiers and government gunmen Ghulam Ahmad Waza, Shaban Kawa and Shahnawaz and others with masked faces raided the house of my father at Bemina. He was taken out in the lawn and army opened few aerial shots. Then my father was taken to the Palhallan army camp. In the camp he was tortured. Ghulam Nabi Kawa hit his Kangri (firepot) on my father's head. The Commanding Officer and Major Kambli pressurized him to defame the Jamaat publicly. He was told if he did that he would be rewarded with money and be appointed as a government gunmen commander. However, he refused to act on army dictations. Next day, his dead body was handed over to Parimpora police station by army.

Having no information of my father's whereabouts, my mother, Shahmala, along with another Jamaat member Abdul Majeed of Rafiabad reached the police station to file a missing report. When my mother was giving the details of my father to the police, they shocked her with news that they had already received the dead body of my father from government gunmen. Then my father's dead body was transported in a police jeep to Palhallan for last rites.

People while taking my father's body towards the martyr's graveyard at Palhallan were stopped by the government gunmen who resorted to aerial firing. When people refused to change the route, the government gunmen started beating them. In this many people got injured including the gravedigger. Two of the gunmen, Shaban Kawa and Bashir Rather tried to take away the body from the people, and I tried to snatch the rifle from Bashir Rather to foil his attempt when Shaban Kawa hit my head with gun butt. The blow caused bleeding and to seal the wound nine stitches were done. My father was ultimately laid to rest in his ancestral graveyard at Bagat Mohalla. Later on the fourth day of his death Bashir Rather was killed by unknown gunmen at Singhpora and was buried in the same grave, which was prepared for my father at the Martry's graveyard.

After the killing of my father, the army led by Major Kambli still raided my house, and now he was looking for my uncle, Mohammad Maqbool Hajam who was an active member of HM. Meanwhile, a crackdown was imposed in the area and all the inhabitants of the village were assembled at Sadderbal School, Sofi Mohalla. I was taken to the place where Major Kambli was during the crack down. Major Kambli asked me about my uncle Mohammad Maqbool Hajam's whereabouts. I said I did not know. Major Kambli poured hot tea on my head. This happened in the presence of 200-300 people. Then I was taken to one of the rooms of the school, made naked and beaten. Major Kambli gave me the grace of ten days to produce my uncle. On the 10th day, I left my house and shifted to Baramulla, and returned after two months, when I heard that Major Kambli had been transferred out from the camp.

In September 1996, Mohammad Maqbool, my uncle, and his other friend Abdul Rasheed Bhat were arrested during a meeting of HM. The place where the meeting was held was cordoned by the Mahar Regiment and government gunmen identified as Lateef Ahmad Mir, Abdul Rasheed Ganai, Abdullah Yatoo and Sahba Ganai. The meeting was held in the shop of Abdul Ahad, resident of Raipur, Palhallan. Other members of HM were also supposed to come for the meeting to the same place. Army and Ikhwanis raided the shop in which Mohammad Maqbool and Abdul Rasheed Bhat were arrested and brought to Palhallan and kept there in the army camp. Both were tortured there and on the 29th day in the camp they were killed during the torture and their dead bodies were found at Ghat Palhallan. The family received the dead body from the Pattan Police Station. Mohammad Maqbool's dead body was also not allowed by government gunmen to be buried at the Martyr's graveyard. He too was buried then at his ancestral graveyard.

In 1997, Major Sinha raided my house and picked me along with my two brothers and cousin brother. We were all tortured together at Palhallan army camp. After two days one brother was released, and on the fifth day I was also released. Next day, Kamal Bhat a source for the Palhallan army camp along with Numberdar came to our house. They told my family and me that the other brother and cousin would be released only if the demand of Major Sinha was accepted: payment of Rs. 5,00,000. The family arranged Rs. 1,50,000 and a carpet worth Rs. 50,000. This was sent to Major Sinha through Kamal Bhat and then brother and cousin were released.

In 2004, at 4:00 pm a few Jammu and Kashmir police personnel came to my house and I was summoned to appear in the Pattan Camp. I went there at 5:00 pm. At the camp, DSP Mohan Lal accused me of providing shelter to militants, being affiliated to Jamaat and then lodged a FIR against me and took me to the Matches Factory camp at Baramulla. There I was kept for 29 days in a cell, which was so confined that I was unable to sit or stand properly. I was also tortured there and was made to sit on an iron chair through which I was electrocuted. I was hung upside down and my head was dipped in water. I was tortured for four to five days. After 29 days I was shifted to Hariniwas Interrogation Centre, Srinagar and was kept there for eleven days. There too I was beaten by sticks and was asked about militant whereabouts. After this, I was shifted to Pattan police station and was kept there for five to eight days and then I was released on bail. After my release the army still continued to raid my house and summon me to Wusan and Hyderbaig camps till 2007.

In 2007, the SOG, Baba Taing, Pattan camp raided my house and arrested me. Mohammad Yousuf Bandh, the then DSP was himself with his personnel while raiding my house and. They took me to the Cargo camp at Srinagar. There I was hung upside down, my body was electrocuted, my legs stretched and my body was dipped in water. I was released after twelve days. My family was informed to take me home.

In 2009, I was going to Srinagar and was arrested at Singhpora. I was going to Srinagar in a Sumo vehicle, which was stopped by SOG and I was taken to Rambagh, Srinagar for enquiry by Special Investigation Team [SIT] and IB and was kept there for one day. In the evening I was shifted to Shergarhi police station. One more boy, Mudasir Malla, a friend of mine was also arrested on the same day. Police filed a wrong FIR against me that I had weapons on me and was arrested at Wathoora, Budgam. After four months in Shergarhi police station I got bail.

24. Mohammad Akbar Bhat, son of Abdul Razak Bhat, resident of Palhallan, occupation: Teacher

In 1993, the army arrested me during a crack down at 10:00 am on the allegation that I provide shelter to militants. I was taken to the house of an inhabitant of the locality namely Abdul Salaam. The family members of that house were out in the crackdown. Eleven boys were picked by the army and taken to the house of Abdul Salaam and tortured there. I was tortured at the end. Some army personnel put a helmet type thing on my head and electrocuted me by that. I was asked about militant whereabouts. At about 5:00 pm all eleven of us were released. Due to the torture my health was affected and I even had to have an operation of my rectum.

From 1994 onwards, the army started harassing me and took me many times to the camp for inquiring about Abdul Rasheed Hajam [Farhat]. It continued till 1995. The reason was that I too belonged to Jamaat-e-Islami, and I was a friend of Abdul Rasheed Hajam and we worked in the same school. It was Aziz Garhwal from Garhwal Regiment on whose command I was brought to the Palhallan army camp. This happened almost every day till Abdul Rasheed Hajam was killed.

In 1995, government gunmen identified as Abdul Rasheed Ganai and others called me to their Kaw Mohalla camp. There I was accused of supporting militants and belonging to Jamaat. They demanded money from me and threatened to arrest me if I did not pay up. I managed Rs. 10,000 and gave them. I was called to that same camp many times after this as well.

On 23 June 1995, government gunmen of Hajin raided Goshbugh High School, where I was working as a teacher. They took me along with Mohammad Abdullah Zargar, Mohammad Ramzan Bhat all residents of Palhallan, Ghulam Ahmad Yatoo, resident of Yatipora, Abdul Rahim Bhat, resident of Goshbogh and Ghulam Mohammad Nawoo, resident of Tangpora. All of us were taken to Naidkhai. The Ikhwan were Abdul Ahad Sher alias Ahad Sher, Bashir Yar alias Aadam Khor, Fayaz Nabdi, Ghulam Ahmad Gamgeen and Rashid Billa. The Ikhwanis took all of us near the Shrine of Naidkhai and beat us there. Bashir Yar was poking my body with the knife of the rifle and we were kept there till the evening. After that, three of us – myself along with Abdul Rehman Bhat and Mohammad Ramzan Bhat – were taken to Abdul Gani Mir's house at Naidkhai for one night. There we were asked about Jamaat-e-Islami activities and whereabouts of Abdul Rasheed Farhat. Next day, all of us were brought back to Palhallan by an Ikhwani namely Fayaz Malik, resident of Singhpora. On the next day, I was picked up again by Garhwal Rifles and taken to Palhallan Camp. There Aziz Garhwal asked me about being picked up by Ikhwanis of Hajin and I was released after one hour. The next day, I was again taken to Kaw Mohalla camp where the government gunmen demanded more money. Abdul Rasheed Ganai took Rs. 500 from me and released me on the same day.

In 1998, my family, alongwith the families of Ali Mohammad Gojri and Mohammad Kamal Gojri were taken out of our houses by ASI Surjeet Singh (one star) and SOG occupied the houses. Two storey bunkers were constructed in the compound of my house. We shifted to Palhallan and the houses were under the occupation of SOG till 2002 and no rent was given to us. There were willow trees in my compound and they were cut and sold by the SOG. In 2002, we received our houses back but the houses were in damaged condition.

25. Mohammad Sultan Ganie, son of Ghulam Mohi-ud-din Ganie, resident of Katpora, Palhallan

I was first arrested by SHO Sarwar Khan of Pattan police station for hoisting Jamaat-e-Islami flag but was released on the same day. I was earlier residing at Raipora, Astan Mohalla, Palhallan. I was providing food and shelter to the militants due to which the army raided my house many times.

In 1996/1997 an officer Thapa of 29RR along with SOG personnel Surjeet Singh and Kuldeep raided my house many times and used to beat me. The army and SOG never found a militant at my house. After the government gunmen came into existence, militants stopped visiting my house.

On 12 November 2005, a militant of HM, Ghulam Hassan Khan visited my house and asked me to provide shelter. I did not as the army was after me. There was a small factory of spices in my compound. The militant hid himself in this. After that the militant went through the compound and entered into the house of Ghulam Nabi Ganie, my brother. Meanwhile, the army led by Major Lamba cordoned my house. Somehow the militant managed to shift back to my house and when the army searched the house he opened fire. The army retaliated and opened fire indiscriminately due to which there were deaths caused. I was harassed for a long time after this. Then I visited the office of MP Shaheen. He spoke to the army and asked army not to harass me. Since then I am living at my own home at Palhallan.

26. Fayaz Ahmad Tantray, son of Abdul Hameed Tantray, aged 37, occupation: employee at Department of Irrigation and Flood Control, resident of Palhallan

In 1990, my brother Rafiq Ahmad Tantray went across the line to join militancy. Since then the army started harassing my family including me. The army of the Hamray camp raided many times and enquired about my brother.

From 1995, I was forced to appear in camps like Palhallan, Wusan and SOG camp Baba Taing every Sunday. IB officers Bishnu Panday and Varghese also called me to the Hyderbaig camp. At the camp, I came to know about the name of these officers.

Since 1998, persons of the village whose family

members were militants were forcibly kept in the camp for the night and made to sleep there. Then in the morning we were made to sweep the camp and only then were allowed to go. This continued till 2001.

In 2002, at about 9:30 am, I was at the shop of my maternal uncle Ghulam Mohammad Bhat. Meanwhile, two government gunmen, Mohammad Abdullah Yatoo and Reyaz Sadda passed through the same road where the shop was situated. This was close to the army camp at Palhallan in the Pandit houses. Between these two gunmen, Mohammad Abdullah, was shot on his head. Nobody could find out where from the bullet was fired from. Then army also opened some fire in the air. My uncle and I ran away from the spot and hid ourselves at Kumar Mohalla. The army raided the same place my uncle and I were hidden. We were arrested and brought to the spot of incident again. There, DSP (Operations) Rashid Billa grabbed me by the ear and questioned me. We were both then taken to the Palhallan army camp and kept there for five to six days and only then released.

On the same night of my release at about 11:30 pm, the SOG of Baramulla raided my house. I was taken to G-Branch, Matches factory, Baramulla. For the first one to two days no torture was done to me. After two days I was tied to a chair and was beaten by sticks. SP (Operations) Mushtaq Sadiq beat me himself. After being beaten I was electrocuted. Also when I was going to the bathroom SOG personnel beat me till I reached the bathroom. I was released after 16 days of torture. Then I was brought to Pattan police station for five to six days and was only then released.

On the same day of my release, SP Mushtaq Sadiq was going on a raid to Shalpora, Palhallan. When he reached Palhallan he sent the watchman of the area to call me. The SP took me along for the raid. On returning from there the SP handed me to police Station Pattan and I was kept there for 2 days.

On 15 August 2002, I and other inhabitants of Palhallan were forced to hoist Indian Flags on their shops and houses by the army of Wattergam. Major Rakesh was along with the army. Major noticed that the flag hoisted on the shop of my maternal uncle was upside down. He asked me who hoisted this flag and told me to bring the flag down. I tried to bring the flag down but couldn't reach the height of the flag. Major abused me verbally and scolded me and asked me to bring it down. I jumped and brought the flag down, but the flag fell down on the road from my hands. Then they beat me with sticks, and this Major Rakesh slapped me 10-15 times. I was trampled by army and was dragged on the road.

In 2003, I was going to my office to Sopore in a bus, but I noticed that a sumo vehicle was following me, as the sumo would stop where the bus stopped and was after the bus till Sopore. At Sopore when I stepped down from the bus, four boys came out of this sumo and asked me about Huda College. I told them it is in Pattan. All the four boys were non-Kashmiris; I could identify this by their language and looks. The boys took out a pistol and forced me to board into a sumo. They covered my eyes and after driving me for 2-3 hours, kept me in a water tank, which was in an army camp. I feel that I was kept in Choora camp, as there is water tank in Choora Camp. The tank was almost 50 meters deep. I was brought down in the tank through a ladder. On the first day in the tank I was made to drink chili powder water and was not allowed to sleep as a bright lamp was kept on in the tank, which was pointed towards my face. I was kept there for seven days and for these days I was not allowed to sleep. After this I was referred to Shariefabad camp for seven days. At both the places I was asked about my brother's whereabouts. On the 7th day at Shariefabad camp an army person told me that I would be killed on next day. I was told that my parents would receive message tomorrow that their son is killed while crossing the line. I do not know the name of the army person who said this to me. On the same night I was brought to Narbal with my eyes covered at about 12:30 am and was tied there with a tree. Some army person told me there that he is going to shoot me now and he also asked me where he would shoot me. I replied on the heart. The army left and kept me there, but I was not aware about it as my eyes were covered. After an hour, the then SHO Pattan Muneer was passing through the same road along with his personnel where I was tied. He found me tied with a tree and took me to police post Mirgund. From there he took me to police station Pattan. He called my family. I was released on the next day.

After few days Major A.K Sharma of Wusan Camp along with his personnel visited my house. He told me that I was picked up by RAW from Delhi. Major also asked me if any of my belonging remained with the RAW personnel. I said my watch, mobile and 1300 rupees with the wallet. The Major told me that I would receive each thing back. After 10-15 days I received my things back from Wusan Camp.

After 2003 I was not harassed anymore.

27. Mohammad Yousuf Bhat, aged 40, son of Ghulam Mohammad Bhat, resident of Tantraypora, Palhallan, occupation: Owner of Ice Cream Factory

In 1995, my brother Mushtaq Ahmad went across the line. Since that time the army of Palhallan started raiding the house. I was arrested many times by army and SOG and was tortured to produce my brother.

I was first arrested by Aziz Garhwal of Palhallan camp and taken there. The army personnel beat me with sticks. I was kept for 5-6 days.

My brother Fayaz Ahmad Bhat has also been arrested few times. The army of Palhallan took him along with me. He too has been tortured.

SOG also arrested me few times, by DSP Kuldeep and Shahnawaz. They took me to the SOG camp

Palhallan, which was in the campus of army camp Palhallan. DSP Gupta of SOG has also arrested me few times. In the SOG camp I was asked about my brother's whereabouts. I was tortured to produce my brother. There I was kept for 3-4 days and was tortured each day. I was electrocuted, beaten by sticks by 5-6 SOG personnel; roller was also rolled over the legs.

I was most brutally tortured by government gunmen. They picked me many times. They were Sher Khan of Mirgund, Mohammad Shaban Tantray of Tantraypora, Seabe Hajam of Raipora. These people along with army tortured me. I was made to drink chili powder water and was made to sit on the burning stove.

Major Liyaqat and officer Malik of Palhallan camp also arrested me. The torture was done to me in front of these officers and was done by 5-8 army personnel. The torture was done to me for 40-60 minutes.

This all continued till my brother was killed on 17 July 2001 at the line of control.

28. Fayaz Ahmed Bhat, son of Ghulam Mohammad Bhat, resident of: Tantraypora, Palhallan, Pattan, Baramulla District, occupation: Farmer

Mushtaq Ahmed Bhat, my brother, used to work for the HM. In 1995, he went to Pakistan for arms training. He returned in 2000. He was an active militant after returning. The Yatipora Army arrested him 5-6 months later from Palapora, Niwak (1-2 kms from their house). The family found out about the arrest the next day through some villagers. For six months, he was kept in sub-jail Baramulla, after which he was released. Thereinafter, he was forced to work as a special police officer [SPO] and was tortured for the same. Consequently, he started working at the Pattan police station and everyone knew about this fact. But one day, he suddenly disappeared. 10 days later, two "unknown persons", who refused to disclose their identities, came home and informed them that Mushtaq Ahmed Bhat had been killed in an encounter with the Army at Lal Pul, Uri. We then went to Pattan police station to try and find out about his death. The police station gave us permission to go to the site of the incident. Upon reaching, they saw that 5-6 people had been buried in the same spot. Further, the army said that they were all militants and did not allow us to open the grave and look at Mushtaq's body. They showed us pictures of all those who had been killed. But none of the photos were those of Mushtaq. We had no idea where he was. Even today, we do not know anything about him. He is still missing. We neither have a dead body nor any information. This happened in July 2001 or in 2002. We really tried to locate him, but to no avail. We went to the Pattan police station but they refused to file an FIR in the matter. We still do not know whether he is dead or alive. We believe, however, that Indian Agencies must have murdered him in another encounter.

During these five years, Indian agencies harassed the family a lot. We are four brothers – one was Mushtaq Ahmed Bhat, who went to Pakistan in 1995, and the other three – Mohammed Yusuf Bhat, Mohammad Maqbool Bhat and I. After Mushtaq Ahmed left, the army started harassing the family.

In the first crackdown, the Rashtriya Rifles from Hyderbaig camp picked up Mohammed Maqbool Bhat, and took him directly to Badamibagh Cantonment, Srinagar and kept him there for 18 days. He was taken because his brother had gone to Pakistan. During this period, he was badly beaten and tortured incessantly. He was given electric shocks; made to drink water infused with chillies; his head was immersed in water. He was released after 18 days.

He left the family household and started living separately. There was no raid at home till then. The first raid took place one year after Mohammad Maqbool had been released. Persons from Indian agencies would come to our house at any time of the day. They belonged to different regiments, such as the Rashtriya Rifles or the Garhwal Rifles, and they kept changing. They would raid the house at least once a week for the 5 years during which my brother was in Pakistan. The agencies said that, since Mushtaq Ahmed Bhat had worked for HM previously, his weapons must be at home and hence they were constantly raiding the house. This is why they also tortured us, by claiming that they wanted to recover those weapons.

I was picked up and kept in the Palhallan army Camp, Palhallan under the authority of Major Sinha [operational name: Liyaqat Ali Khan] and Officer Malik of the same Camp. They would keep me there for 2-3 days at a stretch and then release me, only to capture me again. They would torture me and the others in custody in various ways: electric currents through toes, they stripped my brother and me in front of each other, they would hang me upside down for 20-25 minutes continuously and would put ice and freezing water on my body, 2-3 people simultaneously would beat with sticks for about 10 minutes (they would then stop for an hour and resume the beating), they would heat up iron and place it on the body, Major Sinha forced me to sit on a stove and burnt me, for other they put petrol in the anus, for others they passed electric current through the genital area. They would release me after 2-3 days but then they would pick me up again and they kept repeating this 1-2 times a month, sometimes even 1-2 times a week. Government gunmen like Sher Khan, Mohammed Shaban Kahwa and Seabe Hajam also tortured me. They would regularly pick me up, threaten me and ask for money. After the army officers had beaten me, they would beat me further with sticks in the same army camps.

Even after Mushtaq Ahmed Bhat returned from Pakistan in 2000, the SOG raided the house often. They would raid the house at night and point guns in the faces of family members. They said they knew that Mushtaq Ahmed was back. DSP Kuldeep and Surjeet [referred to as "Captain"] would pick me up. When DSP Gupta

replaced Kuldeep, the raids intensified, and I would be picked up even more often. DSP Gupta, along with SPO Shahnawaz, took me at least 3-4 times. They would arrest me in the morning and let me free at night.

After Mushtaq Ahmed was arrested, my brother, Mohammed Yusuf Bhat, was picked up from an ice-cream factory in Raipora. He was kept in illegal custody for 17 days. The family had no idea about his whereabouts during this period. After 17 days, he was released in an apple orchard in another village, Hamray. He then returned home and informed the family that the IB had taken him. They tortured him and said that they were doing so because they wanted all weapons. The police station again refused to file an FIR for this incident. We even went and requested the army and the Block president of the Congress Party but only in vain.

29. Fayaz Ahmad Ganai, aged 38, son of Ghulam Mohammad Ganai, resident of Katpora, Palhallan, occupation: Baker

In 1995, I was at my bakery shop. I was raided by 10-15 government gunmen; few of them were identified as Shahnawaz, Mohammad Shaban, Abdul Rashid Hajam, and Abdul Rashid Malla. I was taken by these gunmen to Kaw Mohalla, where their camp was. I was picked at about 11:30 am on the allegation that I was affiliated with militancy. In the camp my hands were tied and I was beaten with sticks. The ones beating me were Abdul Rasheed Hakim, Abdul Rasheed Malla, Ghulam Mohammad, and Mukhtar. They also trampled all over me. This torture was done to me till 2:00 pm. I was told to join them or be killed. I was released at about 6:00 pm the same day.

On the next day, I left my home along with family and stayed elsewhere for ten months. After this I returned home and after two months the government gunmen again started harassing me. Then they led the army to arrest me in 1996 by Mahar regiment, Palhallan at about 9:00 am. There, in the camp I was stripped and hung upside down. Then two army personnel beat me with the belt. Hot oil was also put in my rectum. This torture continued till 5:30 pm. Then I was released on next day at about 12:00 - 1:00pm.

In 2007, my house was raided at about 12:00 am by the army of Wusan Camp, 29 RR. Major Dalal was also along. I identified Major Dalal, as he was known in the area. I was again arrested on the allegation that I was a militant. I was taken to Wusan Camp. From 12:30 am 8-10 army personnel tortured me. I was stripped, and was then hung upside down. The body and private parts were electrocuted. Major Dalal was also in the cell during the torture, and he was forcing me to admit that I was a militant. The torture was done till 2:30 am. On the next day, I was released at about 3:00 pm.

30. Ghulam Nabi Tantray, son of Ghulam Mohammad Tantray (Gul Jamaati), resident of Tantray Mohalla, Palhallan, Pattan, Baramulla District

My father, Ghulam Mohammad Tantray [Gul Jamaati], was a member of Jamaat-e-Islami. Prior to 1990, officers from Pattan police station were after him. As a result, he migrated to his relative's house. In 1990, the army arrested him in Kupwara. He was then kept in Hiranagar jail for about 2 years. The family found out about the arrest only one month later, when news of his arrest was released in the press. During that period, the family had started believing that he must have gone across the border to Pakistan.

For one year after his release from Hiranagar jail, neither Ghulam Mohammad Tantray nor his family faced any kind of harassment. However, in 1993, the army, in a crackdown, picked him up and took him to Sopore. He was released after 7 days. He was tortured during this week and, as a result, he was unable to work anymore. Four months later, the army raided our house at 11:00 am and tortured him inside his house. He was beaten badly and was forced to drink water infused with chilies. He was also made to sit on a stove. All of this was done in front of his family.

In 1994, when government gunmen came into existence, they also established their camp in the Pandit houses in Palhallan. Mohammad Ismail Kawa (alias KAK), Ghulam Nabi Kawa, and Mohammed Shaban Kawa harassed the family. They would raid the house at night and ask for money. They also forced villagers to cut trees in the Pandit houses. They forced our family to do their work. Often, they would also take him to their camps. Once, he was taken to a camp and tortured for three days.

In 1996, the army of Palhallan picked me up and took me to the Palhallan army Camp at 8:30 pm. I was tortured there, hung upside down for about four hours and stripped. On the next night, I was stripped again, electric wires were connected to my toes and around my neck, then water was thrown at me and I was given continuous electric shocks. Major Sinha [Operational name: Liyaqat Ali Khan] led the entire torture procedure.

Government gunmen also tortured me. They took me to their camp and beat me up there. 4-5 of them would beat me continuously for about 30 minutes.

I was also taken from my house by the CIB officers, who took me to Hyderbaig Camp, where I was asked whether I was affiliated to the Jamaat-e-Islami or not, and whether I possessed any weapons. I admitted that I was a Jamaati. Consequently, I was beaten up for 2-3 hours but was released on the same day.

Two days later, at about 3:00 pm on 12 October 1996, government gunmen sent a civilian person, namely Ghulam Mohammed Sheikh to call my father on their behalf. These gunmen were Shaban Kawa, Mohammed Ismail Kawa, Ghulam Nabi Kawa, Lateef Nair, Abdul Jabbar Gouri, Abdul Rashid Gouri and

Abdullah Yatoo. So my father went to the shop where they had called him (which belonged to Abdul Gafoor Wani, resident of Raipora) but he saw that nobody was there, so he came back home. He had tea and narrated the incident to me. At about 6:00 pm, he went to the Masjid for prayers. On his way, the above-mentioned gunmen abducted him. His cousin sister witnessed the abduction and informed the family about it. At about 8:00 pm, the family heard some gunshots. The next morning, Mohammad Maqbool Bhat informed the family that Ghulam Mohammad Tantray's dead body had been found at Raipora.

The police filed an FIR and the dead body was handed over to the family for last rites. The gunmen continued to raid the house of the family a few times after this incident. Till 1998, they demanded money and took things away from the house. Their raids stopped after 1998.

31. Farooq Ahmad Bhat, son of Wali Mohammad Bhat, resident of Palhallan.

The government gunmen were there till about 2000 i.e. for around five years. They used to come and also eat at the house. They did not pay or take money. We also had to give a room to them. They never made any payments. My house was right next to the Palhallan army camp, next to the temple that was there. The gunmen used to go for operations and then stay in the evening in the houses. They used to come from the camps and stay. Abdul Hameed from Chak Palhallan, now a panch, used to be with the government gunmen for a while and he was one of the gunmen who stayed at my house. Sher Khan and others used to come and stay as well. They stayed in the following people's houses: Mukhtar Ahmad Bhat, Abdul Khaliq Bhat, Ghulam Mohammad Bhat, Abdul Gaffar Lone, Wali Mohammad Bhat (my father/my house), Mohammad Maqbool Mir, Mohammad Shafi Malik, Mohammad Sultan Bhat, Mohammad Akbar Bhat, Abdul Rashid Bhat.

The names of Majors at the Palhallan army camp that I remember are Major Ajit Singh alias Aziz Garhwal. Another was called Dhandan Major. I was in the 7th standard and Dhandan Major beat me a lot. This was in 1996. A grenade was thrown at Wali Mohammad, who was a candidate. Then they caught people and beat them. This would be in September or so. This was probably before elections. I was kept inside the camp. Dhandan major himself beat me. 30-40 boys were put in at that time. Some were left that evening, some the next day. I was released after three days. The boys locked up were: Mushtaq Ahmad Naikoo, son of Ghulam Rasool Naikoo, Mohammad Ramzan Bhat, son of Mohammad Shaban Bhat, Shabir Ahmad Bhat, son of Mohammad Maqbool Bhat, Abdul Rashid Gojri, son of Mohammad Sidiq Gojri, Fayaz Ahmad Gojri, son of Abdul Rahim Gojri. They were all from Katpora, Palhallan. The other boys were from Raipora and Tantraypora in Palhallan.

32. Ghulam Mohammad Bhat, resident of Tantraypora, Palhallan, occupation: Owner of medical shop

I had a medical shop near the Palhallan army camp. I was and am a medical assistant. My duty was then in Palhallan itself at the Palhallan Primary Health Centre [PHC]. I used to run the PHC myself. I used to have a shop right near the camp. My shop was adjacent to the shop of Fayaz Ahmad Tantray, my nephew. The government gunmen came and asked Fayaz for shoes one day. I was loading injections for a small child. His mother had the child in her lap. Fayaz said he would get the shoes later in the day. They threatened him and told him they would show him. Then suddenly firing started outside – five shots. I fell on the mother and child and Fayaz came onto me. We were trying to hide. We could only see smoke outside. Abdullah Yatoo from Raipora was one of the gunmen who got one shot on his head. The other was Reyaz Sadda but he was not hit. He was from Pattan.

We all then ran to a Peer Baba's place. His real name was Mohammad Jamal. We all sat there. 55th Bn. BSF came from the Palhallan camp along with DSP Rashid Billa. He came from Pattan police station. 10-20 people including Fayaz and me were taken. Then we were beaten. I spoke to the Commanding Officer of the BSF in the camp and asked why we were being beaten. Then they left.

Then the third day after that there was a raid at my house. Police official Mushtaq Sadiq had sent SOG and CRPF from Baramulla. We were then taken in one car. Fayaz and Farooq Ahmad Sheikh were also taken. We were blindfolded but then recognized each other. We were taken to Kralhar camp – where the G branch Matches factory is. From Kralhar camp we were taken to G branch itself. Then they interrogated us and beat us. For those 10-15 days no one knew where we were. We were disappeared. We were in underground rooms – separate rooms – in G branch. 5-6 days later they took us for interrogation. There was an intelligence officer called JD and Mushtaq Sadiq. Government gunmen were also there. JD put me into a chair, lifted the chair and my hands behind. He removed my underwear and put it into my mouth. Then they started electrocution. He was saying you are making a plan to remove the camp. This was in 2002 before Mufti had come to power. My duty then was in Kreeri – PHC. They were also asking about who killed the gunman at my shop. I said they should ask the other gunman. I also said there was an army bunker there as well. They could also see. They tortured me a lot. They did "180" on me i.e. my legs were stretched at that angle. JD did this. He was the incharge there. There were 8-9 people in the room including Mushtaq Sadiq. My back operation had to be done as a result of the torture done on me for one hour. I fell unconscious. Then they took me down to my room where Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Sahib was also there. He was from Sopore. He had gone to Pakistan on passport. That's why I think they got him. He was there before I was brought. He said he too had been tortured.

Six days later, one evening they called me and asked

me to pick up my belongings. I said I have none except a pheran. They brought Fayaz also out. Fayaz had a blanket with him, which he had brought from home itself. They were angry that Fayaz had a blanket. Then they beat Fayaz brutally. This time the SOG people from Pattan who had been sent to get us were beating us. There was no Baba Taing camp then. So they were from Pattan police station itself. JD said we should be taken to police station Pattan. Farooq Ahmad Sheikh who had been picked up with us had been released before itself. He had been released the day after his arrest itself. He had not been tortured. But he did not know we had been arrested or where we had been arrested. He was arrested because he first said he saw the shooters run and then he changed his statement. We were then kept in the police station for 5 days. Our total arrest was 19 days. When we were in the police station only then our families found out about us. We were released. ASI there asked for bail and so we organized it even though there was no case against us. This ASI was from Beeru and he asked for Rs. 1,00,000. But then my friend who was later killed by militants did not agree. When we reached home, the ASI came. He said we were called back to the police station. We said ok we would get into the car. He said you couldn't get into the car. He did not agree with us taking our car as well. He did not agree to us walking as well. Then I said why do you not tie our throats and drag us. He basically wanted money. Suddenly 10-15 vehicles arrived. Mushtaq Sadiq was there. ASI saluted but got scared and asked us not to complain to him. Mushtaq Sadiq himself asked him why he was there. He said for your protection. Mushtaq Sadiq said that he had not sent him any message of his arrival. Then Mushtaq Sadiq took us for a raid. Those people whose house we were taken to then thought we were informers. They wanted us as human shields as they had information of militants there. They took us to Abdul Aziz Sheikh's house. We did not do any searching there. The whole family there was arrested. This was 9/9:30 pm. Mushtaq Sadiq when he released us said that they wanted to kill us but DIG Mohammad Subhan Lone, my relative, had intervened.

5-6 days later a policeman from Pattan came and said the DSP was calling. This man was also from the Beeru side. He said no need to shut the shops but we shut the shops anyway. We were kept there the whole day. Then we – Fayaz and me – were kept in lock up for 5 days or so. DSP Billa never turned up. There was a fat Sardarji as SHO then. Then they released us.

After this I had no problems. But I used to assist in the release of my nephew Fayaz. Fayaz because of his brother was taken to the camp and I used to intervene. I used to also know them – the army - because they used to come for medicines etc. I must have gone many times to get him released.

There was a Major at the camp called Dhandan Major and his real name "Inglay" and not Kambli. Before him was Major Aziz Garhwal. After Major Inglay was Major Sinha alias Liyaqat. There was also a Surinder Thapa of 3 Gurkha. The government gunmen were also around. They used to stay at our houses. They would give us notice and say make food ready. This was for 4-5 years. Fayaz was called to sleep in the camp for 2-2.5 years. But, I was never asked to come and work in the camp. This was only for militant families. When the army left and the SOG remained they stayed close to the temple. BSF was there only in 2001 – 2002. Before that there was the 73rd Bn. CRPF.

Once I went with my mother to Char-e-Sharief. My two children were in Palhallan itself. The next day afternoon I returned. When I returned home I reached Ahad Dar's house and saw SOG people at my house. I got down from the tonga there itself and went to Ahad Dar's house. I asked his sister Jameela to check what the SOG personnel were doing in my house. She checked and said there was a Ghulam Mohammad whose child was hit by fire and they are looking for Ghulam Mohammad. I reached my house and they asked me to identify myself. They asked details of my children – Tanveer and Mushtaq. Then one man came to me asking for money and he told me that his child was hit by fire. I gave him money and asked him to leave. For one month then I had to go twice a day because of my name to the SOG camp inside the army camp. All Ghulam Mohammad's in Palhallan village were taken to report at the camp. There were so many Ghulam Mohammad's. We were called in the morning and evening. There was a DSP called Gupta who died of heart attack later. He was quite big and hefty. Not sure of his first name. This may have happened in 2002.

Once I had put a flag of India on my shop as I was asked to on 15 August or 26 January. But it was put upside down. Then Fayaz was asked to remove it and it fell. Then he was beaten.

There was a person called Surjeet with the SOG. He used to stay in Palapora in a house where two girls were. He was from Jammu. Mohammad Rajab was ASI and had one star. He died along with his wife but the child escaped when there was an attack. This is the day Habibullah Najar was also killed during a raid. He died of heart attack in his house. There was only a Major in the Palhallan army camp. Above this camp was the Hyderbaig camp. Hyderbaig camp had under it over time the following camps besides the Palhallan army camp: Wusan, Kreeri, Zangam, Chaksari, Batpora.

When the Palhallan camp was present, forces used to come from other camps as well. Commanding Officers and Brigadiers would also visit. At one point, A.K Mishra was a Brigadier of 10 Sector.

The government gunmen were first controlled by the army and then by the SOG after the army left.

The Kashmiri Pandits just left at night. They did not seem scared before they left. Trucks were brought at night and they filled them and left. They took all their

belongings. Jagan Nath's daughter-in-law, himself and wife remained. When he died, we did the last rites. When the Sikh regiment came, they took all the tin of the Pandit house and made trunks out of it. People respected them. I do not know any incident where the Kashmiri Pandits were threatened. The government gunmen were the ones who sold their trees and kept the benefits. The temple in Palhallan, near the camp, was not attacked after the Babri Masjid. The army took the tin away and then the buildings got affected. Army used to take wood away from people as well for themselves without making payment. The walnut wood used to be taken from people. They used to make furniture from it.

33. Ali Mohammed Bhat, resident of Raipora, Palhallan, occupation: Retired teacher

Fayaz Ahmad Dar, son of Abdul Gani Dar, was my son in law.

In 1994, a crackdown was conducted by the Watlab army Camp, which was controlled by the 26 Punjab Regiment. All males were rounded up in the crackdown. Prior to the identification parade, army officials picked up the victim – Fayaz. He was picked up randomly and without any reasoning. He was not identified as a militant; he was just taken randomly. The others were sent to the government high school. I was released after the crackdown. But the army took the victim with them. The father of the victim went to the Watlab army Camp because he knew that he had been taken there; he met the victim there but Fayaz was not released. The father is now dead.

3-4 days after the incident, I heard from a villager that the army handed him over to the Pattan police station. From the police station, he was left in a local bus without informing anybody, which was going from Srinagar to Baramulla. However, this was a pre-planned conspiracy, as I heard from someone, and Azam Khan (of the MM), who was waiting and abducted him up from that bus.

I heard that 1-2 days after being picked up, Fayaz sent a letter through a local who was working with Azam Khan. In the letter, he had written that he was in Buran village. His wife, Jamila, then went to meet him in Buran. After that, we never heard of him. He has been missing since then. Fayaz's son was 2.5 years old when his father went missing. He is doing M. Sc. today.

34. Ghulam Mohammad Najar, aged 52 years, son of Habibullah Najar, resident of Katpora, Palhallan, occupation: Carpenter

In 1994, Farooq Ahmad Najar, my brother, went across to Pakistan for arms training. In November 1994, when the army camp of Garhwal Rifles headed by Aziz Garhwal, was established in Palhallan they started harassing the families of those who had gone across.

In 1996, DSP Kuldeep and Surjeet of SOG took me, to the SOG camp in Palhallan stationed in the house of Mohammad Akbar Bhat. In the camp I was detained for two-three days. After that I was ordered to appear in the camp every night and sleep there along with many other villagers. On next day, we were released but only after we would sweep the whole camp. We were beaten many times by the SOG personnel during all this. Major Kambli took my brother Mohammad Akbar Najar to Palhallan camp. He was kept there for one week and during these days he was beaten off and on. I, like other villagers, were taken many times to the camp, and we were there forced to work without compensation.

In 1997, SI Mohammad Rajab sent SPO Shahnawaz and few other SOG personnel to summon me to the SOG camp. I was kept there for one night. In the same night the SOG and army raided my house and broke the doors and windows of the house. Due to this my father Habibullah Najar had a heart attack and died. I was released on the next day. I was also ordered to appear in Hyderbaig camp every Sunday. I was appearing on every Sunday and it continued for one month and then it stopped.

In 1998, DSP Gupta was posted in SOG camp Palhallan, and he too called me to the camp many times and detained me for days. Sometimes I was beaten there as well.

In 1999, I was ordered to appear in SOG camp Baba Taing, Pattan. From there, I was once taken to SP office and produced in front of SP Muneer Khan. He also asked me about my brother's whereabouts. Then I was released on the same day.

35. Abdul Hameed Tantray, aged 37, son of Mohammad Ramzan Tantray, resident of Palhallan, occupation: Contractor

During 1990, I was in 6th standard. I was a part of Islami Jamiat Talba. As soon as government gunmen came to know about me they forbid me from entering into Majid accusing me of reading Pakistani Azan and of being a Pakistani. Soon they took me in custody and tortured me in Palhallan camp headed by Aziz Garhwal. They used to soak my head under water filled with chilies and stood on my back. I used to scream and beg them, "don't beat me, there is a paper and pen in my pocket I will write a suicide note, kill me instead". The gunmen were Sher Khan of Singhpora, Janeju (code name), Shahnawaz Ali, Mohammad Akbar and Ghulam Ahmad Waza.

It was around 1995/1996 at night when the gunmen broke my door and kicked my family outside. They were asking about me. When I came forward, they caught hold of my collar and dragged me to Palhallan army camp where an officer ordered the other officials to torture me. They hung me upside down. I cried and begged but they tortured me continuously.

When I was in B.Sc first year I was again taken to the camp. This time Ghulam Nabi Khan, who was 60 years old, Fayaz Ahmad and Ghulam Nabi Tantray were

accompanying me. They gave me electric shocks, made us naked and used water canon on us. This process continued for at least till 45 minutes. They also used tiny roughly sharp sticks and inserted it inside our nose. Later they took me to another room. There they tried to manipulate by on one side stating that my colleagues told them that I had a weapon and meanwhile they told the others that I had informed on them. One gunman named Ghulam Ahmad Waza told the officers that I was so strong and this meant the torture increased. They threatened me to handover the weapon or else they will throw acid on my face. In reality it was kerosene. But, as I was blindfolded I got scared when they threw it on my face and I thought it was acid at first but then later realized it was kerosene. I was released after five days. Since then whenever I walked on the streets in the presence of any officials, I was abused and beaten.

As time passed and camps shut down, people got more courage and did protests against civilian killings. The fake FIRs were registered. I have four to five such cases ongoing against me.

Nearly 14 years ago an army officer died on the border. He belonged to Palhallan camp. The army officials had sent few civilians who work for them. They had been ordered to send a slip to every house and mention some amount of money to be paid by the family. This was to be given to the army officer's family. Even we received this letter. To save my life, as there would be consequences for non-payment, my father managed to work and paid Rs. 30,000.

In 1998, I was summoned to the Wusan camp. I was tortured there and in Hyderbaig. Due to the torture my intestines and other parts were damaged. I still cannot do any physical work. I ran away to Jammu and only returned in 1999 when my father was dying.

There used to be an officer called Liyaqat who had been transferred from Nishat, Srinagar. He once met me in the camp and told me he had buried 13 persons alive in the place he was posted before.

Once in Palhallan camp there was youth kept in a cell next to mine. I assumed that his parents might not be aware of this. One day with the excuse of using the bathroom, I tried to sneak in the cell. I saw the young boy and his cell walls were covered with blood. I requested an officer named Kartik to allow me to talk to him for few minutes. After having conversation with the boy, my doubts were confirmed. I came to know that the boy was from Wusan namely Abdul Ahad Dar, son of Ghulam Ahmad Dar. The army officials randomly picked up the boy. The following night I heard a gunshot. The next morning when I asked about the gunshot to other officers they giggled and said, "there was a dog in the kitchen, so we killed him". They burst out laughing.

When I was released I went to the boys family and informed them about their son. Soon the family rushed to the camp but the officials responded that he ran away.

In 2000, during the cross firing between Sikh regiment and militants on Palhallan Bridge a militant died along with few army officials. At night the army personnel walked into a few houses and raped women including an eighty-year-old lady. They were rushed to the hospital. Two of them are still alive.

36. Ghulam Ahmad Tantray, aged 40, son of Abdul Samad Tantray, resident of Tantraypora, Palhallan, occupation: Farmer

In September 1990, my brother, Ghulam Nabi Tantray, went across for arms training to Pakistan and came back after 11 months in 1991. After that he was working as an active militant of Hizbul Mujahideen. On 19 October 1992, a crackdown was imposed in the village Raipora, Palhallan. Ghulam Nabi was hidden in the house of Mohammad Munawar Tantray at Raipora. Army already had information about him through some source. They cordoned the house. Meanwhile cross firing started between army and Ghulam Nabi. During the cross firing Ghulam Nabi was killed.

In 1995, army of Palhallan headed by Aziz Garhwal along with government gunmen namely Mohammad Shaban Kawa, Abdul Rashid Ganai, Ghulam Ahmad Waza, Abdullah Yatoo, Seabe Gade, all residents of Palhallan and Sher Khan of Tangmarg raided my house. They accused my family and me of storing weapons of my militant brother Ghulam Nabi. They searched the house through out. They also mixed the ration of the house at one place in the house. They also disturbed the things in the house.

I was picked up 5-6 times during the raids by above said army officer and government gunmen. They took me to Palhallan camp and every time they would beat me in the camp off and on in a day and release me on the same day.

Another brother Bashir Ahmad Tantray was picked 2-3 times by government gunmen. They also beat him and once he was made to drink chilly powder water. Both us brothers were asked to share information about weapons of our elder brother Ghulam Nabi Tantray. This continued till 1999, i.e. till the camp in Palhallan was there.

In 1997, DSP Surjeet Singh of SOG Palhallan raided the house twice. He along with his personnel searched the house and threw things out of the house. He also picked me up and took me to SOG camp Palhallan. I was kept there for whole day and was beaten there. 3-4 army personnel beat me by sticks. Both the times I was kept there for single day only.

In 2008, I received a bullet on my thigh by CRPF personnel while participating in a protest. The bullet penetrated from left to right side. After that I was unable to walk for seven months and am still under treatment.

37. Ghulam Hassan Khan, aged 44, son of Ghulam Nabi Khan, resident of Palhallan, occupation: Shopkeeper

My uncle, Ghulam Mohammad Khan, was not only an active Hizbul militant but also commander due to which the family had to face constant raid and torture.

It all started in 1991 when army officials used to raid our house and take me along with them to Hyderbaig camp. I was tortured there at least for three to five days. Wires were connected to my toes and electric shocks were given to me till I would lose his consciousness. 5-6 army personnel applied iron rollers on my legs for 10-15 minutes. Besides this 3-4 army personnel beat me with sticks. They used to keep me in a cell, which is 3/3 and eating, sleeping everything was to be done in that tiny room.

In 1994, I was taken to Pattan-Nihalpora army camp for two days. There, army tortured me with the help of wooden rod, electric shocks, and they hung me upside down, and soak my head in water full of chilies.

In 1995, with the launch of government gunmen, the gunmen took me to Singhpora hospital for three days and they were asking about my uncle Ghulam Mohammad Khan. I was alongwith ten other civilians and was being tortured. They beat me and applied roller over my legs.

*In 1996, Ghulam Mohammad Khan was killed in an encounter by army. After a break of 8 months, I was accused for storing weapons. Army headed by Major S.S. Sinha along with gunmen namely Ghulam Nabi Dar, Ghulam Ahmad Yatoo, Abdul Rashid Malla and Mohammad Shaban Kawa raided the house, they mixed the whole ration of the house at one place. Major S.S. Sinha also took a carpet [7*10 size] from our house. Later after one year when I invited him on my marriage he returned it back. I invited the Major, so as to get rid of this harassment. In my absence in the house my father Ghulam Nabi Khan was taken to the Palhallan army camp. He was tortured there due to which his eyesight weakened. After two days I went to the camp, and I handed over myself to the army and they released my father. I was then tortured and I lost consciousness. I was kept in water for two days till I woke up. Then they put me into a mud hole with just my head out. They placed rifles around me. Then Major S.S. Sinha asked me, "What are you going to do now?" In addition, every time my family visited the camp they were sent back with the response that, "your son ran away".*

In 1997, SOG of Baba Taing headed by DSP Mohan Singh picked me up. I was taken to the SOG camp and kept there for two days. There too I was tortured, wooden roller was applied on my legs and electric shocks were given to me. Besides this I was beaten ruthlessly. There I was tortured for first day only. I was tortured from 08:00 pm till I lost consciousness. Then after two days I was released. After that I was never harassed any more.

38. Victim G, resident of Palhallan, occupation: housewife [Name and identifying information withheld on the request of the victim/witness]

In end 1996, I was a minor and was abducted from my home in the morning in the presence of my father by personnel of the army guided by government gunman, such as Latief, and wife of Amma Waza, a resident of Daselpora, Palhallan in a crackdown. The army and the gunmen were interested in the whereabouts of my neighbor who was a militant with HM.

The army and gunmen took me to the army camp in the locality of houses abandoned by Kashmiri Pandits in Katpora where they kept me until the evening. At the army camp, Major Liyaqat Sinha alleged that I was hiding arms for the militants and promised me a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 in return for this information. But I knew nothing and I told him this. I would later come to know that they had also abducted my brother.

First, the gunmen on the instructions of Liyaqat stripped me of all my clothes. Then they beat me with sticks, many of which kept getting broken. Then the two employed a thick roller on my legs. They poured melted polythene into my vagina. After that I lost consciousness. When I woke up, I was bleeding from my vagina.

During my torture, they brought in my brother. He had been badly tortured as well. His hands were tied behind him with ropes and he was unable to walk. My torturers told my brother to ask me to reveal the location of the weapons I possessed. My brother pleaded to them to let me go.

It was only after another relative of mine intervened that the gunmen and army let me go. The gunmen had stolen my earrings and sandals. Upon my return, the army drove my family out of their house and did not allow us to come back for five days.

I got married only three years after my torture. I was too young to be married but our neighbors told my parents that I would not find a match so when the first proposal came, my father got me married. I have never told my in-laws of my torture, and my medical needs are taken care of by my parents. Due to my torture, I have had difficulties in conceiving children and have had multiple abortions; in fact I started menstruating after I was tortured.

After the torture, I received treatment from Pattan and Barzulla Hospitals. My treatment continues to this day. My family did not register a First Information Report as we feared retaliation from Major Liyaqat.

39. Victim H, resident of Palhallan [Name and identifying information withheld on the request of the victim/witness]

My uncle was a commander of HM. This is why my entire family was targeted. My uncle was martyred in an encounter with the army. The government gunmen also martyred my elder brother in our home within fifteen days of the killing of my uncle. My father was martyred in an accident orchestrated by the army. The gunmen burnt down our house as well. With the exception of my uncle, none of the others martyred was a militant

When I was a student, my school mates Javed Ahmad and Tariq Ahmad - whose parents Khalil Ahmad Tantray and Abdul Rashid Tantray were both government gunmen – instigated gunmen to come to my school because they alleged I was carrying a pistol. The gunmen came to my school and lifted my purdah with a stick. They instructed my classmates to search me for weapons but found nothing. They told my teachers at the Jamaat-e-Islami run school that they would be held responsible if any attack on the gunmen took place. I discontinued my education after that.

The government gunmen continued to raid the new home we built and would mix the rations with sewage. They would beat men and women of the family. They would forcibly remove the veils of the women in the extended family while they were simply walking around. Major Aziz Garhwal of the army camp in the Pandit houses accused my sister of being a Pakistan trained militant and ordered her to come to the army camp but she refused. My brother Nazir Ahmad Khan objected to my sister's harassment and was taken to the camp of the Counter Intelligence Bureau at Palhallan. He was taken there twice a day for a month and badly tortured with electric shocks. My brother developed heart problems because of these electric shocks and never married.

In 1997, the SOG along with the government gunmen cordoned our house at 9:30 in the morning, poured petrol around the perimeter and locked us inside. They set the house on fire and it was only after the neighbors raised a hue and cry and opened the doors that we were able to escape. With the house burnt, the gunmen would not permit the neighbours to shelter us. I remember sitting in the garden in the December snow.

Our family did not register an FIR because of the fear of retaliation. We were unable to pursue a case with the State Human Rights Commission who had announced a rupees 5,00,000 compensation for us as the gunmen intercepted us as soon as we would leave the house.

40. Zoona Gashroo, aged 60/65, married to Ghulam Ahmad Gashroo, resident of Kar Mohalla, Palhallan, occupation: Cattle broker

In October 2001, personnel of the Sikh regiment posted in Palhallan, opened fire on two militants who were running down a narrow path, along a swiftly flowing stream. One of the militants died, while the other had been hiding in the bushes. One soldier from the Sikh regiment also died and to get hold of the surviving militant, the Sikh regiment called in more men. The whole area was cordoned off and a crackdown was announced. Throughout the night, they beat the doors asking people to come out. Next morning, they raided houses in the neighborhood and destroyed household items, doors and windows. Male members of the families in the neighborhood were taken out and beaten, while the females were beaten inside their houses.

Earlier on 2 January 1993, my daughter Shafeeqa Gashroo had been shot dead by a HM militant on the pretext of being an army informer. She had accompanied a friend to her in-laws house, and HM militants came inside the house and shot Shafeeqa.

41. Rafeeqa, aged 35, married to Mohammad Shafi Hajan, resident of Palhallan, occupation: housewife

In 2001, men from Garhwal Rifles stationed at a camp in Wusan, Palhallan, cordoned off the area around Wusan Bridge, after sunset. They beat men and women present there at that time with their guns. I was beaten by 4-5 army men continuously, while I had my one-year-old baby in my arms. They tried to drag me inside a room. My husband's uncle intervened and begged the army to spare me. I managed to run away as the men who were assaulting me were now beating my husband's uncle.

The beating left bruises and scars all over my body and after the incident I spent a month at my parent's house in Baramulla. We did not file a FIR, as we were too scared of the army.

42. Ateeqa, aged 45/46, married to Late Mubashir Bhat [militant with HM], resident of: Ahangar Mohalla, Palhallan

The army with inputs by the government gunmen raided our house repeatedly, inquiring for the whereabouts of my husband who was an HM militant. Whenever they raided our house, they would destroy household items, break doors and windows of the house.

One day, they entered her house, took me upstairs and beat me using a stick. They wanted to sexually abuse me but I escaped through one of the windows in the room. After the killing of husband in 1997, they raided our house again and beat all the male members of family.

43. Ayaz Ahmad Sheikh, son of Abdul Rehman Sheikh, resident of Raipora, Palhallan

My brother, Shabir Ahmad Sheikh, was in the 6th standard when the army officials first took him and he was tortured. This harassment continued till he reached 10th standard. Mostly SOG and government gunmen tortured him. The reason of this was he was

affiliated with Islami Jamiat Talba [student's organization of Jamaat-e-Islami]. He was usually kept by SOG of Baba Taing then headed by officer Gowhar for 10 – 15 days. He was once booked under PSA and was detained for two years in Udhampur Jail. It was after fighting in court that it was possible to bail him out. He was accused of stone pelting and storing a gun.

Our house was always raided during crackdowns and my family was harassed which ultimately led my brother to become a militant in 2013. He joined HM. He was martyred in an encounter in Sopore on 8 April 2013.

Apart from torturing my brother, the army once took our father and tortured him. We had to pay Rs. 1,00,000 to rescue him. Officer Liyaqat Ali [Major S. S. Sinha] and government gunmen Naseer Ahmad, Ghulam Nabi Kawa were demanding money for his release in addition to a tube well for the camp. My family paid the money and organized the tube well.

In 1996, Major S.S. Sinha called me to the Palhallan army camp along with other shopkeepers. But I was the only one beaten there ruthlessly. We were all released the same evening but I was in no position to walk and my family took me home in a tonga.

Every time they raided my house, the army officials not only damaged our property but also took away our belongings. Every time, we had to pay Rs. 3000/4000 to 10000 to the government gunmen to save ourselves.

In 2008, during the uprising, the army and SOG cordoned our house and broke all the windowpanes. Even today we are being troubled. My son, Mohammad Asif Sheikh, aged 16, is accused of stone pelting. There is a fake charge against him of stone pelting. The case is on going in the court and he is appearing on the hearings. In December 2013, he was arrested by SOG personnel Pattan near Jammu Kashmir Bank, Palhallan. He was walking down the road when the SOG vehicle stopped and picked him up.

44. Bilal Ahmad, son of Mohammad Maqbool Malik, resident of Raipora, Palhallan

Since 10th standard, my father Mohammad Maqbool Malik was a sympathizer of Jamaat-e-Islami. He was a shopkeeper by occupation. In addition he was also the Imam of the masjid.

On 14 April 1996, after offering his evening prayer he was returning from the masjid. On the way army of Palhallan camp and government gunmen stopped him. The gunmen had not allowed other people in the road. Those people, who came out of the masjid and were along with Maqbool were beaten and were asked to enter their houses. At the same time, my sister Parveza went out and she was hit by a wooden stick; an army officer shouted at her to get out of there. They cut off the power as well. The gunmen then opened fire, which resulted in the death of Mohammad Maqbool Malik.

Even after two years of his death i.e., 1998, army officials would send slips to our family. We have been frequently summoned to the Palhallan camp, Wusan camp and sometimes Hyderbaig camp. But, the women never went alone and we ensured someone accompanied them. During interrogation questions such as how do you study, where do you get money from, who all visit your family etc. were asked. The visiting time was either morning 9 or evening 5. This process continued till 2000.

Before his killing, my father was called many times to the Palhallan army camp then headed by Major Liyaqat [S. S. Sinha, and few of the times he was kept there and tortured for days. Once government gunmen came and asked for my father and opened few gunshots in the air. Three days before his killing, government gunmen looted his shop and when he tried to stop them they beat him and also destroyed the shop.

45. Ghulam Nabi Bhat, resident of Mal Mohalla, Tantraypora, Palhallan

In 1991, few of the villagers who were selling milk to the Kashmiri Pandits stopped selling milk to them on the directions of militants. I went myself to these Pandit houses and asked them that I would provide milk to them. On one evening militants came to my house and asked me why I was supporting the Pandits. I told that my religion did not teach me to oppress anyone. One militant grabbed my collar but my son Abdul Rashid took a spade and ran after the militants. After few years when army camp was established in Palhallan, Major Kambli took many villagers and ordered them to remove the iron sheets from the roof of Pandit houses.

In 1994, when Abdul Rashid went across for arms training, the army of Palhallan started raiding our house. I was taken many times to the camp. In 1995, Rasheed came back to Kashmir, and army and pro-government gunmen continued raids. My family then migrated to Nowshera, Srinagar. Major Kambli then headed the army of Palhallan and government gunmen in those days were Abdul Aziz Rather, Abdul Rashid Ganai, Seabe, Amma Waza, all residents of Palhallan.

In 1996, Abdul Ahad Hajam, resident of Palhallan called Abdul Rasheed and Mohammad Maqbool Hajam of Palhallan and HM to Batamaloo. Abdul Ahad told them that he is going to introduce them to someone there. This was actually a conspiracy by him and army. When Rasheed and Maqbool reached there, army and government gunmen were already present there with their faces veiled with burkas. Both Rasheed and Maqbool were arrested there by army and were taken to Palhallan camp. There they were kept for 21 days and on 22nd day i.e., on 24 August 1996 the army of Palhallan camp, at Ghat Palhallan killed them both. During Rashid's detention, we returned from Srinagar and approached the camp many times for his release. But we were not allowed to meet him. After his killing, the army of Palhallan headed by Liyaqat [Major S. S. Sinha] were raiding the house and asking for Rasheed's

weapons.

I and my cousin sister Zaina [30 years old and married] were once beaten by Major Liyaqat. The walls of the house were broken to find the weapons. But they found nothing. Once in 1996, DSP Kuldeep called me to the SOG camp and told me to tell him if any government gunman harasses me and that he would kill them. This put an end to our harassment.

46. Mehraj-ud-din Bhat, son of Abdul Rashid Bhat, resident of Marazi Mohalla, Tantraypora

In 1992, Ghulam Hassan, my brother, joined HM and went to Pakistan for arms training. Since then army, other forces and agencies harassed the family. During 1992-1994, army of Hyderbaig used to raid the house. My father and myself were taken many times during the raids by the army. Each time we were detained for many days. We were beaten as well and forced to do labour in the camps.

In 1994, when the army camp was established in Palhallan, we used to be taken there. We were mostly taken by SOG, particularly Surjeet and Kuldeep. I was kept in the camp many times and detained for 4-8 days at a stretch and tortured as well. There was a Munshi called Rajendra who tortured me in the camp. Roller was applied on my legs and my arms were tied up with the ceiling. Electric currents were also given to me by connecting wires in my mouth and toes. 5-6 SOG personnel also trampled me. After the Palhallan camp, I was taken to Hyderbaig camp many times.

In 2005, I was called to Wusan army camp. They used to call people by sending a slip through some civilian. I did not go. The army sent 12 slips in a single day. Then that evening, the army picked up my father Abdul Rashid Bhat from our house. On the next day, I went to the camp and handed myself over to the army and they released my father. Then I was kept for three days and during this 3-4 army personnel beat me and roller was applied on my legs. It was Captain Vishal Dobhi who was known as Kaloo in the village. He himself said his name to me when he was beating me. He also told me that I was responsible for militant action from Narbal to Sangrama.

On 14 December 2005, my brother was killed in an encounter at Khag, Gulabdeg, Beerwah with five other militants. After his killing the family was still harassed. I was taken to the Wusan Camp and was asked why I did not share his whereabouts before his killing. I was taken 2-3 times to the Wusan camp and then it stopped. During this time, government gunman Ghulam Nabi Kochak had raided the house many times and demanded rice and money from the family. They were accusing us of providing shelter to militants. SOG personnel Surjeet and Rajinder also, on many occasion, demanded money for my release.

47. Abdul Ahad Bhat, son of Ali Mohammad Bhat, resident of Tantraypora, Palhallan

My son Mehraj-ud-Din Bhat went across in 1994 to Pakistan for arms training and came back in 1997. From 1997 till his martyrdom on 18 April 2000 he was working as an active militant with HM. From1997, the army and agencies started to harass our family.

In 1997, SOG of Palhallan called my family to the SOG camp. There we were asked whether we were receiving any message from Mehraj. My other son, Mohammad Maqbool Bhat was kept at the camp. Then he was ordered to stay in the camp for night as a human shield. He slept in the camp for around 11 months. Mohammad Maqbool was kept in the camp many times by SOG and each time they demanded money from me for his release. This is when DSP Kuldeep headed the SOG there. He used to demand money from us.

Once Mohammad Maqbool, his elder brothers, Farooq Ahmad Bhat and Fayaz Ahmad Bhat were taken by SOG. Then I was called to the camp and DSP Kuldeep demanded Rs. 1,00,000 for the release of one son Farooq Ahmad. Kuldeep threatened me that if I did not pay up he would kill Mohammad Maqbool. My other alternative was to produce Mehraj-ud-Din. I sold my land and made the payment of Rs. 1,00,000 through SPO Ghulam Mohammad Lone, resident of Palhallan. Next day, for my other two sons I paid Rs. 25,000 to DSP Kuldeep.

After around one year, SPO Ghulam Mohammad Lone along with Kuldeep and other SOG personnel came to the house. DSP Kuldeep demanded Rs. 1,00,000 again. I said, I cannot manage this. DSP Kuldeep said if I did not pay, he would burn my band saw machine. I told him I would try and arrange Rs. 50,000. On the following day, I managed Rs. 40,000 and gave that to DSP Kuldeep through the same SPO. Then DSP Kuldeep told me that we would not be harassed for a month. But, after just a month, DSP Kuldeep sent an SPO and demanded firewood. I gave firewood, which would cost around Rs. 20,000. Then, after a few months, DSP Kuldeep took my father Ali Mohammad Bhat. I went to the camp and requested Kuldeep that he had to go for Hajj and so he should be released. DSP Kuldeep demanded that I organize a lunch for all the SOG personnel of Palhallan camp. I did so and after having the lunch DSP Kuldeep promised not to harass our family for 40 days. But just three days after my father left for Hajj, SOG picked me up and tortured me in their camp. The beating by gun butts broke my teeth; electric shocks were given to me by connecting wires to my ears and mouth. They also threw acid on my body. I was kept for one day only. At 11:00 pm, I was handed over to my family.

The torture continued till Mehraj-ud-Din was killed on National Highway Palhallan during cross firing with army on 18 April 2000. After his killing, the army and SOG raided a few more times to search the house. My father was also summoned to Hyderbaig camp and asked if any other militant was coming to our house.

After that we were not harassed anymore.

48. Farooq Ahmad Sheikh, son of Ghulam Mohi-ud-din Sheikh, resident of Marazi Mohalla, Tantraypora, Palhallan

Since 1993, Abdul Rashid, my brother, was working as an over ground worker of HM. That year there was a crackdown imposed in the village by BSF of Magam. Muma Kanna, Amma Kanna and Qasim Khar were along with BSF. During the crackdown the locals of Palhallan were assembled in High School Palhallan. An identification parade was held and 28 persons were picked by BSF and were tortured in High School premises. First, I was picked up but after half an hour they picked up Rashid and released me. BSF, Amma Kanna, Muma Kanna and Qasim Khar already had information on Rashid of him being an over ground worker for HM. Besides BSF and the trio there was one Ghulam Mohammad Tantray of Palhallan who was working with MM, and he was the one who had informed BSF and the trio about the persons of Palhallan working with HM. He identified all those 28 persons. Rashid's maternal uncle namely Mohammad Sultan Bhat resident of Palhallan was the teacher of Amma Kanna during his school days. So, he approached Amma Kanna and said "Don't you remember I had taught you in school". Amma Kanna replied that it was not him who was picking these boys. He pointed towards Ghulam Mohammad Tantray and said this is the person who is identifying these boys. Then Amma Kanna released Rashid but his body was burnt, and he was given electric shocks. His private parts were burnt too. In the crackdown, he was picked up at around 10 am and was released at 5 pm. Then our family brought him home in a cart. After this he was doing his studies and was also working with HM as an over ground worker.

In April 1995, Rashid joined HM as an active militant. In the same year, government gunmen namely Ghulam Mohammad Ganai [Janeju], resident of Kadibug, Tangmarg, Abdul Shaban Tantray, resident of Tantraypora, Palhallan, Abdul Ahad Chopan, resident of Yatipora, Palhallan, Abdul Rehman, resident of Mirgund, Abdul Rashid Hajam, Abdul Rashid Ganai both residents of Raipora, Palhallan, started raiding our house. Ghulam Nabi Tantray headed them and Ismail Kawa was the chairperson of these people. Once during the raid, Ghulam Mohammad Kawa told my father that he did not have any enmity with their family but it was Shaban Kawa who had sent him. They did frequent raids and asked us to produce Rashid. We then migrated for seven months to avoid this harassment.

On 9 November 1995 there was my wedding. The government gunmen cut the light two days prior to the wedding. On 11 November 1995, when I brought my bride home, at the same time the dead body of Rashid was brought home. He was killed at Wetrehal, Budgam. We do not know how he was killed. He was brought home by police station Pattan. He had been shot on his neck and chest. FIR no. 179/1997 was lodged when I approached the Budgam police station. In FIR my brother is referred to as Mohammad Ashraf as he was using his operational name. After his killing the above-mentioned gunmen continuously raided the house and asked the family for weapons.

In 1997, SPO namely Ghulam Mohammad Lone of Palhallan was sent to our home to summon me to Palhallan camp. He had come with the army. The first day I was not tortured. On the second day, my father was also called to the camp. Both of us were stripped naked in front of each other and were ordered to slap each other. After that three persons from 8 pm to 12 am beat us. On the fourth day, only my father was released. On the fifth day, I was taken out for killing. I begged the officer, whose name I do not know. He told me that he would kill me in an encounter. On the eighth day, SOG personnel Surjeet sent SPO Ghulam Mohammad Lone to my maternal uncle Mohammad Sultan and demanded Rs. 20,000 for my release. My father paid the amount and I was released.

In 1998, SOG personnel from Baramulla picked me up from home. Shaban Kawa and Abdul Ahad Chopan were along with the SOG. Two other civilians Fayaz Ahmed Tantray and Ghulam Mohammad Bhat, both residents of Palhallan were also picked up. All of us were taken to G Branch, Matches Factory, Baramulla. There, we were given food only twice in a day: 7 am in the morning and 12 at night. We had to urinate in the cell itself. On the second of my arrest my family gave Rs. 5000 to Shaban Kawa and Abdul Ahad Chopan. Then these two went to the camp and told SOG personnel there not to beat me. In G Branch camp we were tortured by SSP Mushtaq Sadiq and some BSF personnel who was called J.D in the camp. Fayaz Ahmad Tantray and Ghulam Mohammad Bhat were tortured ruthlessly. Petrol was put in the anus of Ghulam Mohammad and both of them were beaten and burnt badly. I saw SSP Mushtaq Sadiq torturing Ghulam Mohammad and Fayaz Ahmad Tantray. After eight days, the other two were also released. But they were in half dead condition.

After the above my family was never harassed.

49. Ali Mohammad Yatoo, son of Abdul Rehman Yatoo, resident of Yatipora, Pattan

My brother's name was Ghulam Ahmad Yatoo, a teacher at High School Goshbugh. There was a crackdown that day at Yatipora. We were all taken out for it. There were two teachers of the same name including my brother. He was then brought home for a search. They then took him to a room in an interrogation center at Pethmohalla, Yatipora in the house of Abdul Khaliq Lone. Then someone shouted that he was running and to catch him. I do not know what actually happened. He was shot. This happened on 1 September 1995. The other Ghulam Ahmad Yatoo was son of Ali Mohammad. The army personnel were from Wusan. We could recognize the army personnel from Wusan as they used to often come and do raids here

before this as well. There used to be "Dand CO" and he was based as Commanding Officer in the Hamray camp those days.

We saw the dead body in the Pattan police station. He had 4-5 bullet wounds – in his leg and chest. After his death his body had been deposited at the Pattan police station. All bullet wounds were on the front side of the body. We received SRO-43 and ex-gratia relief in this case despite the FIR stating that the victim was a militant and he died in firing and that the body was found with weapons/ammunition. Major Jagjit of 15 RR, Hamray filed the FIR [FIR no. 208/1995 at Pattan police station].

Another brother, Ghulam Mohammad was taken away by the Garhwal Rifles of the army. This was on 22 May 1994. Those days the Palhallan army camp was around. Again the army claimed he was killed in cross firing but in reality he was taken to a house as a human shield. There was a militant called Mohammad Akbar Yatoo. He fired and the army responded and my brother was killed. One or two of the army men also died. They had come from Yatipora camp. We received SRO-43 and ex-gratia relief in this case. FIR no. 121/1994 at Pattan police station was filed and implicates the victim as well as a militant.

Besides the above two, other people killed/disappeared over the years in Yatipora are:

- *Reyaz Ahmad Dar, a 14-year-old boy, son of Ghulam Nabi Dar, Bona Mohalla. He used to give milk to the army and one day the army dog got lost and they asked people to find it and then this boy was killed.*
- *Mohammad Sultan Tantray, son of Asadullah Tantray, was disappeared. It is unclear to me who disappeared him. He used to drive a taxi. He received SRO-43 benefits.*
- *Unidentified gunmen killed Abdul Ahad Chopan. He was with MM and worked for Palhallan camp. He had gone to get fruits and was killed. Local information was that militants killed him.*
- *Abdul Rahim Tantray was a cousin of Mohammad Sultan Tantray. He was killed in Pattan market. This is also the place where Hayat Khan was living before he was killed. He was working as a source for the army at Hyderbaig. The family received Rs. 5 ,00,000.*
- *One militant, Manzoor Ahmad Rather, from the area was killed while fighting with the army. He died fighting in Sherbug.*

50. Mohammad Ashraf Chopan, son of Abdullah Chopan, resident of Yatipora, Pattan

My brother was Abdul Ahad Chopan and he died in 2005. FIR no. 193/2005 was filed at the Pattan police station and this incident took place on 7 November 2005.

I do not know when he started working with the army. He first went with the SOG. He used to work at the Palhallan camp with the SOG. He then went to Baramulla, got married and left everything. My brother was with SOG before Surjeet [who was ASI and one star]. He worked with them for 5-6 years. He had left more than 5 years before his death. He had left for a while before the camp was shut at Palhallan. I do not know anything about his salary. He was working at home after working with SOG. He was accused of killing 5-6 militants.

Palhallan camp picked up boys even when my brother was working with them. Then my brother used to help and get people released. He was never a militant. He refused to be a militant. He was never a "source" for the army either. He never worked with Hayat Khan or MM.

51. Ghulam Mohammad Yatoo alias Gulla, son of Khazir Mohammad Yatoo, resident of Yatipora, Pattan

I was born in 1970 and I was around 20 in 1990. I went across the border with JKLF. Our commander from Tarzoo was Ghulam Qadir and I went with him. I was there for one year. I went on 9 October 1990 and returned after a year. Training was just for a month and I then roamed around in Muzaffarabad.

Once we returned we did not do that much. I also went to Delhi for a year or two. I came back in 1995 and surrendered. There was a cordon one day and I got caught. I had joined HM by then, as they were the ones around. I was arrested some months after Hayat Khan had died. 2 Garhwal had caught me. There were Lt. Colonel Choudhary and Colonel Vijay Kumar at the time. I was taken to 192 Mountain Brigade Headquarters at Zorawar cinema. I was kept there for one and a half months in a cell. It was above ground. I was tortured. They put electric current on me. They put me in water. There was some officer torturing me and Choudhary and Vijay Kumar did not torture me themselves. They asked me to identify militants. I showed them a few places where militants ate. Then they sent me to JIC Baramulla and then Kathua jail. I was released on 8 August 1996. When I was with the army, I told Lt. Colonel Choudhary I would work for him. He said he was not a fool and neither were the militants. They did not want me and the militants would not spare me. He said if he left me the militants would think I worked for the army. So I spent a year in jail. While being questioned by the army I was told, this time by Lt. Colonel Choudhary that I was accused of killing Hayat Khan. But he verified it and after 8-10 days said I was not involved. In fact, I never killed Hayat Khan.

After I was released I worked as SPO in Baramulla police lines.

At the time of my arrest the army in operation was 2 Garhwal. After that was 5 Mahar Regiment. The Palhallan camp came under the Commanding Officer based in 192 Mountain Brigade, which was Brigade

Headquarters. Later there was the 8 Rajputana Rifles that later went to fight in the Kargil war of 1999.

Due to my background I was being called to a camp every Sunday. Now I am required to go to the camp once a month.

52. Nazir Ahmad, Government teacher, resident of Pattan

The division between HM and MM was in 1992. Hayat Khan was commander of MM in 1993. Before that it was Athar. Athar was the main commander of Pattan area. So when Ahsan Dar started MM, for the north the head was Athar.

Hayat Khan was arrested in 1993 and taken to Hyderbaig. He had other accomplices such as Noor-ud-Din and Maqsood. They used to stop all the goods, even though Maqsood and Noor-ud-Din did not themselves carry weapons. The MM used to roam around with army.

Shaheen, of MM, once picked me up on the orders of the forces. They picked me up at night and they took me somewhere in a house in Mian Mohalla. This was one of the Mian houses. They beat me so much. They asked me for the names of the HM people killing them. Noor-ud-Din was there then. The Major at Baba Taing – of the regular army – had sent these people to get me. Nazir Halwa, Ghulam Hassan Kaloo and Sheen tortured me. This person Ghulam Hassan Kaloo was with MM till the end. He killed many people including some boys from Nihalpora apparently. A person called Shoga, also with MM, was also like this. Shoga was after me as well. Shoga was also involved in timber smuggling. HM people told them not to do that. The MM people used to take the wood of the Kashmiri Pandits.

The killing of Gulla Bhat [Ghulam Nabi Bhat of Pattan] was a big moment and the fight between HM and MM took off and Gulla Bhat was said to be with MM. The man who went into the house was to kill Gulla Bhat but he saw Farooq who was a militant and he panicked and fired indiscriminately and therefore killed others.

I was taken to the Palhallan camp a few times. There was an officer called Mahesh. He was from 3 Grenadiers. Twice Major Liyaqat with Raj Rifles came. He came for a raid but I was in the masjid once. It was the month of Ramzan. 26 Punjab came from Watlab as well.

The MM operated under the Hyderbaig camp, which was the main camp. When MM left, the Ikhwan came. They were in a house of Sonaullah Pir. Fayaz Malik was with Ikhwan but actually he was working with HM. There was also a Rashid Mian with the Ikhwan. They had presence for maybe a year. Even Singhpora where the Ikhwan came from was also under the Hyderbaig camp.

Athar was the main commander of MM followed by Hayat Khan, Azam Khan and Shaheen. The final commander was Amma Waza.

53. Mushtaq Bhat, son of Captain Abdul Aziz Bhat, resident of Pattan.

I went across in 1990 and returned in 1991 and worked for a while in HM. My work was in communications for HM. Alpha 1 and Mike Charlie were the two communication systems we had. We had sets with range of 3000 meters. This was for internal and external communications. There were various sections and they had sets. The internal sets did not have great range but they connected well to the outside sets. I was with Mike Charlie and then Alpha. In between I was with Ahsan Dar when he was heading HM.

I was arrested when gunfire hit me in my leg. This happened in Pattan town. I escaped to Srinagar but then there was a cordon and they saw my stitches and then I was taken to be identified right there. We had a publicity chief called Lateef Ahmed Bhat. He was arrested. He was in Papa 2 interrogation center. This was 1995. I was arrested then itself. My photographs were found with him and he is the one who basically identified me. I found that out later. I was also in Papa 2 with him and I found out. Ahsan Dar was also there. He knew that some boys went with army. I do not believe he manufactured the MM with army. Ahsan Dar was in jail for 8-9 months by the time I was arrested in April 1995. I was in Papa 2 for 9 months and then 5-6 months in Papa 1. Through the assistance of my father I managed to get released.

After my release I was staying in Magarmal Bagh, Srinagar. I was not with HM but I did interact with some of them just normally. Meanwhile, Zahoor Bhat of Pattan, belonging to HM, was shot by MM, particularly Azam Khan. He was taken to hospital and he sent for me. I went and saw him there and he actually wanted me to get a pistol for his protection, which I managed to do. But, there was a boy called Adil who saw me there. I returned the pistol the next morning but Adil went and told on me. In fact, he also followed me and saw the place where I used to live in Srinagar. Sometime later, Major Liyaqat [S. S. Sinha] did a raid at my Srinagar house. Adil was also brought. I was identified and then without clothes almost I was taken. Along with me Hilal Ahmad Bhat alias Urfi, my brother, was also taken. At home itself my other brother Aijaz had been beaten. We were interrogated the whole night. Both of us were being tortured. Acid was also thrown on us. Major Liyaqat and Amma Waza did the torture to me. My father and his friend Abdul Rashid intervened. They spoke to a Commanding Officer of another camp. Finally, Major Liyaqat Commanding Officer called him. In fact, before I was saved, Major Liyaqat told me he had killed 32 people and I was to be number 33. They had got me dressed up for killing.

I had to go to the Palhallan camp 4-5 times. One example is as above. Once a Captain Mahesh came and took me to the camp and tortured me for half an hour there.

The story of Jan Mohammad [Zubair Sultan, son of Mohammad Sultan Bhat] who was killed is as follows. I was at the time in Srinagar as I had been fired upon. Jan Mohammad came to my house. It was Eid time and he was also to be married soon. He was first in a different house and then he came to my house. My family asked him to stay at home because they thought he would not be affected as the army knew my dad. But then 15 Punjab had come from Bandipora or some place, maybe Watlab. They did not know my family. My father asked them to search and that time he did not know that Jan Mohammad was in the house. Anyway they did not find anything and they left. But, then Jan made a call from our house and then the army came straight to our house. They interrogated my father and his hand was also broken. They took Jan Mohammad and some of my cousins outside. Jan asked them to leave my cousins and he said he had forced the cousins to keep him at the house. Everyone was badly interrogated. They asked Jan to walk, and as he did so they shot and killed him. That day the army took a lakh or more of gold of my wife. This even came in the paper. Two days later the army returned – the same 15 Punjab – but they stayed outside for a bit and left as our family and others got together and shouted.

I think Hayat Khan was killed in 1995. I think I was arrested then. A boy from Yatipora with support from Palhallan boys killed him. I think a boy from Palhallan called Juneju was involved [he was later killed himself].

Rashid Billa was with the SOG and he was after me. They attacked me twice. In 2000 they attacked me and I had to migrate again to Srinagar – this time Qamarwari. They basically did a firing at my house in 2000 but I escaped. Then they took my brother – Aijaz - to the police station and kept him detained. They got him picked up through BSF in Srinagar. My other brother – Aijaz was picked up through BSF in Srinagar. Rashid did all this. Through my business contacts, the Hamray camp intervened and kept me in Hamray for 15 days. But Rashid Billa did not agree. Then a Brigadier here spoke to Gill of the police. Finally, things were fine.

The MM ended in end 1997 or early 1998. A Pakistani called Saifullah killed many of the MM people [he was later killed in Haft Chinar, Srinagar]. The main commanders of MM were Hayat Khan, Azam Khan, Shaheen, and Amma Waza. Athar was also a commander but he was silent and did not expose himself.

Shaheen once interrogated a person called Ghulam Mohi-ud-din Bhat in Nihalpora. He had a crack in his back. He died last year because of the torture. He was 55 when he died. He was tortured because of me. He was taken actually to Shoush. Then they left him in a calla thinking he was dead. I was not in jail then. This was 1997/1998. After this Amma Waza came in as commander. He used to harass me, my family and people generally.

Ahsan Dar left HM in end 1992. Ahsan Dar was blaming some people including Jamaatis. Mohammad Subhan, alias DSB – was with HM and Jamaat. Ahsan Dar said DSB was working against him. There was also a Ghulam Hassan Wani that Ahsan Dar was complaining about. So we had a meeting once on the Magam side but Ahsan Dar did not show. Instead there was an army raid. Ghulam Hassan Wani and DSB blamed Ahsan Dar for the raid. Then there was a meeting in Chaksari. We waited for two hours but he did not come.

In 1992 at a training center a person, Ashraf Dar of Kalipora told me that Ahsan Dar was doing wrong things. This was at a camp called "Cream of Creams". 600-700 boys were being trained there. It got exposed. There was an accusation that Ahsan Dar was trying to get everyone killed. In fact, Ahsan Dar even called my father to counsel me and my father told him that I was following his own path. He even said he would give Rs. 50,000 to me. That is when I really suspected Ahsan Dar. By then Ahsan Dar had boys like Mustafa, Farooq Ahmad Mian, Ghulam Hassan Najar, Azam Khan, Hayat Khan, Ghulam Hassan Kaloo, and Shoga etc. with him.

We found out about the connection between army and MM when Hayat and Azam Khan were near Buran village. HM went for a raid. They closed in on them and then from both sides the army came and the HM had to withdraw. This was in 1993. Ahsan Dar was not arrested yet. Ahsan Dar was more in Islamabad then. That time also he was in Islamabad.

When 18 boys including Ahsan Dar were arrested by HM and taken to Islamabad I had already left him and was with HM. I was not there then. HM released them. They were kept for sometime and then released. Azam Khan was also there. He was with MM.

When MM was in Pattan the boys with Ahsan Dar like Farooq Ahmad Mian were not with army. Athar was different – he was with police earlier and had links. My point is that not all MM was with army. For example, Ghulam Hassan Najar even fought with the army near Baba Reshi where he died. He was with MM but died fighting army.

Choudhary did have huge approach in this area. Also, Hayat Khan, who was in Palhallan, while Athar was in Chaksari. Athar used to command the whole area actually. He was from the beginning of the MM here.

In the killing of Gul Bhat I can say the following. It was a HM operation but the boys on ground byepassed orders. Hayat Khan was there earlier but he had left by then. Farooq got stuck and killed there. Farooq was planning to join HM from MM. This led to lots of killings. By this time Hayat had links to the army.

There are infamous officers of those times. Vishal Dubey was one of them. He was a big killer. Earlier he

was in Wusan. He used to want to be called Kuta [dog] Major as he used to bite people like a dog. He was in Choora and then in Wusan. The period from 1995 to 2000 was bad with the army and then the SOG came into play. Again in 2009 when stone pelting started the army became bad.

54. Mohammad Subhan Yatoo, son of Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Yatoo, resident of Wussan, Pattan

I was with the Jamaat-e-Islami. I was tortured on many occasions. The most heinous torture I faced was when personnel from the Wusan camp picked me up. This was before the Palhallan camp was in existence. There was an officer called Major Thakur. This was when the Wusan camp was on the premises of the rabbit farm. On this occasion, two others and I were tortured. I was repeatedly tortured as I was friend of a HM commander named Musaib. I was beaten with gun butts. My head was put inside water. Sticks were placed on top of me and then people stood on them. All my clothes were removed. I was sodomized with a stick. It was a stick, which caused pain but did not leave big wounds. My penis was pulled. This torture was perpetrated directly by Ikhwan and army personnel. Major Thakur did not physically touch me. The Ikhwan who were involved in this torture were Shera, Khan, Cheema, Bengali, Abdul Rashid Mir and Noor Mohammad. At one point Major Thakur entered and asked that I be clothed. He also said that I too was human.

Following this torture, I was then tortured again. There was an officer called Major Bhandari. He was a softer man but regardless of that the incidences of torture and crime did not come down in his time at Wusan camp. On this occasion I told Major Bhandari to torture me himself and not leave me for the others. He asked me to put my head in water and cover myself with some garbage thereby acting as if I had been tortured. At that time there was a CO named "Dand CO". He used to be accompanied by a person from the army named Ram Pal from military intelligence who used to torture people severely. Dand CO arrived and asked Ram Pal to torture me. He along with a bodyguard named Kuldeep asked me to separate my feet. This was happening at the residence of Ali Mohammad Lone, son of Khaliq Lone, near eidgah itself where the crackdown that day had happened. They also searched for spices to torture me with while I was waiting in the kitchen. My clothes were also removed and I was beaten. My head was put in water. They also stood on my back. At one point I fell unconscious. Another person was also tortured there. His name was Ghulam Rasool Lone, son of Abdul Aziz Lone. That day, at the crackdown, people from Jamaat-e-Islami were asked to identify themselves. I stood up on my own, as I knew there was no hope of me escaping anyway. A person named Mohammad Ashraf Lone also stood up. 10-15 others were also picked up but only four-five people were tortured. At that point, the Ikhwan were not there. Once again on this occasion they were looking for Musaib. Musaib's real name was Mushtaq Ahmad Mir, son of Ali Mohammad Mir.

On another occasion, there was a crackdown at around 1:00 pm. The army picked me up again. Meanwhile, at Bonapora Mohalla, at the residence of Abdul Rehman Bhat, son of Ghulam Mohammad Bhat, Musaib was hiding. The army kept me while an encounter broke out. They even removed my clothes and Shera dressed up as me to enter the house, to confuse Musaib and thereby kill him. Dand CO and Ram Pal were present then. But, the plan did not work and Shera returned acting as if he had been fired upon. In fact, he had not been fired upon and the army discovered this. The army was there the whole night. Musaib escaped on this occasion. On this occasion, Abdul Majid Mir, resident of Bonpora was also brutally tortured. Mohammad Akbar Wani, son of Abdul Khaliq Wani, was also tortured along with Abdul Majid Mir. They were tied together and dragged and beaten. Others tortured were: Mohammad Rafiq Pir, son of Mubarak Pir [also called by surname Shah], Mohammad Sultan Shah, son of Abdul Gaffar Shah, Ghulam Mohammad Mir, son of Abdul Ahad Mir.

On another occasion, Major Samir made me imitate and walk like a monkey and then he beat me. This happened in the month of December, and at that time I was made naked. I was also given electrical shocks. Then someone from behind asked Samir not to continue, as I would die.

55. Ghulam Mohammad Shah, resident of Shouch, Palapora, Pattan

Mushtaq Ahmad Shah, my son, went to Pakistan in 1993 and came back in 1995. In Kashmir, he used to be with his outfit only. After he came back to Kashmir, army of Batpora headed by Major Chatterji and army of Chaksari headed by Major Panday started raiding the house. Government gunmen namely Rashid Mir, Nazir Mir residents of Warpora and Fayaz Khorde resident of Chukar also used to be along with the army.

Once during the raid the army dug the floor and walls for weapons. I was picked up many times by the army of Batpora. I was beaten thrice ruthlessly in the army camp Batpora. Once Major Chatterji beat me along with three army personnel. I was also hung to the ceiling and twisted from backside for almost half an hour. Once during the torture I was made to lie on the ground and a truck was driven towards me to threaten me to reveal my son's whereabouts. The truck was stopped near my shoulder when army was convinced that I knew nothing about my son.

Another time I was taken to Batpora Camp, and there I was beaten by the gun butts and after that I was tied with a pole. Then army opened few aerial fires to threaten me. But that time too I did not share my son's whereabouts. After beating me ruthlessly I was handed over to few civil persons who were kept on duty as watchmen by one government gunmen namely Sonaullah Bhat. On every night five persons were kept on duty as watchmen in the village to keep any eye on the militant movements in the village.

Army also approached my children's - Hilal Ahmad, Manzoor Ahmad, Nasreena Akhtar and Irshad Ahmad – school, and took their certificates from the school and forced the school administration to expel them. Then they couldn't continue their studies.

Then Major Chatterji and his men compelled my family to migrate from the village. Then we were living in Srinagar for more than one year. We returned after one year but I had to go to Delhi and I came back after three years.

Then on 21 June 1999, there were five militants hiding in Khar Mohalla. These five militants were Mohammad Yousuf resident of Dargam, Mushtaq Ganai resident of Tilgam, Mohammad Sidiq resident of Noor Bagh, Farooq resident of Kohlara, Balpura and Mushtaq Ahmad Shah. Army of Hyderbaig, Watergam and Kreeri cordoned the village. The cross firing continued for four days and on the fifth day four of the militants were killed. Only Farooq managed to escape. After they were killed the army burnt the whole village. Around 20-30 houses were burnt.

All the four dead bodies were taken to Pattan police station but Mushtaq was taken to Badamibagh army cantonment Srinagar. After that the body was sent back to police station Pattan and then handed over to the family. Then family observed the last rites and after that we were never harassed.

56. Firdous Ahmad Malik, resident of Shouch, Palapora, Pattan

In the year 1995, my uncle Abdul Rashid Malik was working with HM. In the same year he decided to go across to Pakistan. While going across when he reached near line of control firing took place and he returned back. It was the winter season so he had to walk over the snow. Due to the snow his feet were damaged and he was admitted in Barzulla Hospital. His toes were cut in the hospital as his feet were damaged. In the hospital he was admitted for around one year. During these days the family stayed at Sarai [dormitory] of the hospital at Srinagar. But army started raiding them there. Then the family shifted to Ganai Mohalla Barzulla. There too army started raiding and once during the raid they beat Rashid and his brother Ghulam Nabi. One of the army personnel trampled his plastered foot under his feet. Ghulam Nabi was made to drink chili powder water. After spending more than six months there the family decided to head back to their village.

When the family came back to their home at Shouch, army of Batpora and Chaksari camps started raiding the house. Major Chatterji headed Batpora camp then. This Major was notorious and was known in the village. Government gunmen namely Fayaz Khorde resident of Chukar, Tipu resident of Dundora, Saleem Beul and Sonaullah Bhat resident of Shouch village were also along with army during the raids. During the raids Major Chatterji used to beat the family members even the women as well. He did many crackdowns in the village during which people were assembled at Government High School. There he used to separate the men and keep them in a line. Then he used beat them with a stick on their hands and also force them to do Kaan Pakdi [squats, holding the ears]. This major told the people to call him "Kuta". Once during the raid Major Chatterji kicked on the chest of Abdul Aziz Malik, father of Rashid and this impacted his heart and he died in the year 2000.

After joining HM, Rashid never stayed at home. But once he was at home and army of Chaksari along with government gunmen Fayaz Khorde raided the house at 2 pm. They picked up Ghulam Nabi Malik and Rashid. Both were beaten first ruthlessly at their home only. Taja Begum, wife of Ghulam Nabi Malik tried to stop the vehicle of army, she held the window of the vehicle, but the army dragged her for around 30-40 meters. Both were then taken to Chaksari camp. Ghulam Nabi was kept for one night. He was beaten there and water was put over his face for a long time. His left arm was broken as well. Rashid was kept for five days. There was army of Nagaland then. On the first night they forced Rashid and Ghulam Nabi to eat the flesh of dog. But they did not eat. After six days Rashid was shifted to SOG camp Baba Taing. There, SOG personnel tortured him. A burning stove was placed under his thighs and his thighs were burnt. A thin rod was penetrated from his lips and nostrils. There he was kept for ten days. Then the family approached the then DSP Surjeet Singh. He demanded money from the family. Then the family gave Rs. 15,000 rupees to DSP Surjeet and got Rashid released. When he was released he was not able to walk. He was also ordered to appear in Batpora camp on every Sunday.

In 1998, he joined as an active militant of HM. After Major Chatterji there was Major Panday posted in the Batpora camp. He used to wear Kurta Shalwar dress. He also raided the house many times. In 1999 some Sikh Major was posted there, his operational name was Waseem and was known in the village by this name only.

Major Panday was frequently raiding the house of Mohammad Yousuf Shah as he was having three daughters. This Major was after his daughters. Mohammad Yousuf has died now and his daughters are married.

On 22 June 2000, Rashid was along with other militants. They stopped a bus, which was passing through the road. The bus was empty. They boarded the bus along with their weapons. The driver of the bus told them that he has to pick army ahead. Rashid replied that they are also in search of army. When the bus reached where army was the army personnel opened the bus door and Rashid attacked him with the knife on his neck and also hurled a grenade on the army personnel. The officer along with 6-7 army

personnel died on spot. Then Rashid came out of the bus, he was shot and killed there by army. Another militant tried to escape from the back window and entered in a rice shop. The army set the shop on fire and burnt that militant along with it. Later when his dead body was taken out it was fully burnt. Then the dead bodies were taken to police station Tangmarg. Family collected the dead body from the police station.

After three days of his killing, army took his photographs from the house. They raided his house few times and after that it stopped.

57. Abdul Rashid Ganai, resident of Behrampora, Pattan

On 4 February 1995, both MM and HM were collecting money from people as donations for their outfits. They were entering each house in the village Behrampora for collecting money. HM persons were coming from Shouch roadside and MM were coming from Chukar roadside. The personnel of both the outfits met outside our house and the house of Ghulam Mohammad Ganai. Both HM and MM people started firing upon each other. MM persons also hurled a grenade. Many persons received bullet injuries. Ghulam Mohammad Ganai's nephews Reyaz Ahmad Ganai [18], Irshad Ahmad Gani both sons of Abdul Ahad Ganai and his niece Saleema [18] daughter of Abdul Khaliq Ganai were outside the house and received bullet injuries.

Name of the injured persons:

1. *Taja Begum, wife of Abdul Ahad Ganai*
2. *Mehmooda, daughter of Abdul Ahad Ganai*
3. *Fayaz Ahmad Ganai, son of Abdul Ahad Ganai*
4. *Atiqa Begum, wife of Ghulam Mohammad Ganai*
5. *Mushtaq Ahmad Ganai, son of Ghulam Mohammad Ganai*
6. *Tariq Ahmad Ganai, son of Abdul Rahim Ganai*
7. *Shamima Begum, wife of Habibullah Ganai*
8. *Shafaqat Begum, daughter of Abdul Rasheed Pir*
9. *Amir Rashid Ganai, son of Abdul Rashid Ganai*
10. *Shakeela Begum, wife of Abdul Rasheed Ganai*
11. *Khatija Begum, wife of Abdul Gaffar Ganai*
12. *Abdul Khaliq Ganai, son of Mohammad Jamal Ganai*

Abdul Ahad Ganai, Abdul Rahim Ganai, Abdul Khaliq Ganai and Abdul Gaffar Ganai are brothers of Ghulam Mohammad Ganai. Habibullah Ganai and I are neighbors of Ghulam Mohammad Ganai. Injured persons were taken to the Sub-District Hospital Pattan. Ghulam Mohammad Ganai, Reyaz and Irshad died on spot. Saleema was referred to SKIMS and she also died there.

During the cross firing the MM militants left their weapons on spot and ran away. HM militants took those weapons. Later militants of MM demanded money from the family of Ghulam Mohammad Ganai. They accused them that the militants were hiding in their house. It was Athar, resident of Chaksari who was demanding the money. Then when he negotiated with the village committee they decided that the family would give Rs. 1,00,000 to MM.

Two militants of MM died during the cross firing - one was the resident of Chaksari [name not known] and another was Mohammad Akbar Sheikh, resident of Wayel. Many other militants from MM side were injured.

Ghulam Mohammad's family has received ex-gratia of Rs. 1,00,000 and SRO-43 appointment for Farooq Ahmad Ganai in Revenue Department.

58. Ghulam Mohi-ud-din Sheikh, son of Ghulam Rasool Sheikh, resident of Tantraypora, Pattan

Before the rise of militancy in Kashmir I was harassed for being a Jamaati [follower of Jamaat-e-Islami]. I was many times threatened by police station Pattan that they will arrest me. But they never arrested me. After the rise of militancy in 1989 army was raiding the houses of Jamaat members.

In April 1993, BSF of Magam along with Amma Kanna and Muma Kanna cordoned the area for arresting Ghulam Mohammad Bhat, a militant. The militant fled away. Then the army opened fire towards my house and one of the fires hit my wife on the knee. After that the soldiers did not allow us to take her to hospital for around one hour. After one hour she was taken to Barzulla Hospital.

After December 1994, when the camp was established in Palhallan, I was many times called to the camp during the time of Major Dhandaan.

During the time of Major Liyaqat [S. S. Sinha], he ordered me to construct bridge over a stream in the village. Government gunmen used this route and through Liyaqat they forced me to construct the bridge. Then I cut four trees and constructed the bridge. Liyaqat threatened me that he has killed eight Jamaatis in Harwan and if I would not construct the bridge he would kill me as well. He also warned me that the bridge should be constructed by the next day morning. On the next day at around 8:30 am Liyaqat sent Ismail Kawa to check whether the bridge was constructed or not. Besides this he many times called me to the camp and kept me there for full day.

In the 1996 elections, Major Liyaqat took every Jamaati out of their house with the help of government gunmen and forced them to vote.

In 1997, government gunmen of Palhallan burnt my house and then my neighbors managed to extinguish

the fire. These government gunmen were frequently coming to my house for money. I have many times given money to them so as to get rid of this harassment. In the same year Ghulam Mohammad Sheikh s/o Ghulam Nabi Sheikh a local resident of Tantraypora was picked up by army of Palhallan. He was released on the same evening and was brought home in half dead condition. The same night a grenade exploded in the village, but nobody knows who exploded the grenade. After a while army and government gunmen cordoned the area. Liyaqat was on leave and Captain V. P. Singh was officer in charge then. Both army and gunmen raided my house and this Captain V.P. Singh asked me who exploded the grenade. I replied that I was having my dinner. One Ghulam Mohammad Bhat who had a pharmacy shop was having good connections with V.P. Singh and he told him that we are his own people and not to harass us. Then army left.

On the next day morning a crackdown was imposed and around 100 persons were taken near a stream near Shalpora Primary School. It was the month of March and this Captain forced all these persons to go into the stream. All the persons were kept in water for around one hour.

This Captain V.P. Singh closed Fallah-e-Aam Trust School run by Jamaat in 1997. This was the joint conspiracy of government gunmen and V.P. Singh to close the School. Around 250 students were reading in the school and these students had to go to different schools for admissions.

In May 1998, after Liyaqat, some other Major was posted in Palhallan Camp [name not known] he picked me from my house at around 5 am. Army took me blindfolded to the camp. I was tortured in the camp at around 11 am. I was first made naked and was then tied with a pole and then I was beaten with sticks for around one hour. In the same night at 11 pm I was tortured again blindfolded. I was made naked again and tied with a pole and beaten for half an hour. I was blindfolded for the full day. I was released on the next morning at 9 am. After that I migrated to Sopore till 2004. When I returned the situation was changed and then I stayed back at my place in Palhallan.

59. Statement by Ghulam Mohammad Sheikh, son of Ghulam Nabi Sheikh, resident of Tantraypora, Palhallan

As I am tall and keeping a beard the army picked me many times during the crackdown. After the establishment of Palhallan camp I was many times taken to that camp as well. I was accused of being informer of militants.

Once, during the time of Major Dhandan army and government gunmen raided my house. They cordoned my house. Army was along with their Major Dhandan and the gunmen were Abdul Rashid Ganai, Latief Mir, Amma Waza and many others. As army raided we rushed upstairs and started shouting so that neighbors would listen and come out. But none of the neighbors came out. Army and gunmen broke the door and barged into the house. They also went upstairs and brought us down. I along with my mother Raja Begum [60] and wife Taja Begum [35] were beaten by army. Army took me to Palhallan camp and kept me there for 3 days. During these 3 days I was tortured; roller was applied on my legs for about 10 minutes and simultaneously they were asking me about militant whereabouts. Around 8-10 army personnel were in torture cell, who tortured me. They tortured me for around one hour. After torturing me they took me to the office of Major. He too asked me about militant whereabouts. He himself hit me with a belt and on the fourth day they released me.

After 2-3 months, government gunmen namely Amma Waza, resident of Raipora and Akram of Singhpora raided my house. They also accused my family and me of being informers of militans. My wife Taja replied that we are not informers. But both the above-mentioned gunmen beat her with the gun butts and kicked her many times. They were many gunmen along with Amma Waza and Akram but they were outside around the house. After beating my wife and me, these two gunmen ordered me to appear in their camp at Kaw Mohalla on the next day. But, I did not go there.

Once a gunman namely Ghulam Nabi Bhat came to my house at around 7 pm and said that Major Liyaqat wants me to appear in the camp. I along with him went to the camp and on the way he took some other persons also. Army was also along with him. In the camp they beat me and put my head in water. One army person was holding my head to put it in water and another army person was putting electric wires into the water to give me electric shocks. This torture was done to me for around 10 minutes. On the next day I was released.

During the time of Liyaqat, crackdown was imposed in village Tantraypora. A person with his face covered was along with army to identify the militants or anyone who supports militancy. He identified many residents of the village including me. Army took me to the Palhallan camp. In the camp there was one little boy aged 10 years namely Mohammad Ashraf Sheikh, resident of Palhallan. He was also detained but he was crying in the camp. Army decided to take him to police station Pattan. As he was a child they decided to send me along with him so that the boy should not feel alone. Both of us were taken to police station Pattan. Ashraf was released on the next day and I was kept for 10 days. There, SHO told me that "If you saw any militant do let me know". Both of us were not beaten there.

This was the last time when I was taken by the army. After that neither army and nor government gunmen harassed me.

60. Hafizullah Malla, son of Abdul Rehman Malla, resident of Raipora, Palhallan

From 1998, government gunmen of Palhallan namely Abdul Rashid Hajam, Shaban Kawa, Abdul Rashid Ganai, Abdul Jabbar Wani and many others were forcing me to join them. I refused joining. Then government gunmen started harassing me. They took me to Kaw Mohalla for one day and beat me there. They also raided my house my times during the nights. I was also taken to Palhallan camp twice by the army and they too forced me there to join them.

On 27 September 2004, Major Verma sent army from Wusan camp to take me to the camp. In the camp they took two photographs of mine and asked me to come again on the next day. Next day I again went to the camp and there they took me to the torture cell. In the cell Major Verma himself ordered his personnel to connect wires to my penis. Then they gave electric shocks to me for around half an hour. They also beat me with the sticks. I was accused of being a militant though I was not. On the same evening I was released but I was ordered to appear in the camp daily. I appeared in the camp for consecutive 37 days. Then it stopped for 15 days, as it was the month of Ramzan.

On the day of Eid army came to my house but I was not there. They picked up my father and brother Abdul Rehman and took them to the camp. At around 04 pm I came to my home, and there I came to know about my brother and father. I went to the camp. In the camp Major Lamba asked me "Are you a militant". He also told me that he would do my encounter. I told him that I had appeared to the camp for 37 days and no allegation was proved right against me, then why are you harassing me. Then he released all three of us. After that he was calling me to camp after every 15-20 days.

On 29 November 2006, I was picked up from Tappar by army and taken to Kreeri police station. There they told the then SHO Inam that they had arrested a militant and they are going to Watergam camp. In the camp they tortured me. They asked me about the militant Zahoor Ahmad Waza. I replied that I did not even know about his village. Then they gave electric shocks to me and hot iron rod was applied on my thighs. This torture was done to me for around one hour.

After that they told me that they are now going to kill me and asked me about my last wish. I replied that I wanted to offer Namaz. They put a rifle in my hand and took my photographs. Then they gave me a glass of water and blindfolded me. Then I was taken in a gypsy to kill me. Meanwhile some officer there received a call to hand me back to the police station. The army handed over me to police station Pattan and from there I was released.

After 20-30 days, army of Wusan camp raided my house and took me to the camp. There they beat me and asked me why I was arrested by army of Watergam. I replied that if I had been a militant then Watergam camp would not have released me. They kept me for one day in the camp and then released me.

After that on 19 March 2007, I was going to visit a doctor's clinic. On my way I was picked up by SOG and taken to Pattan police station. There, SDPO Yousuf Bandh handed me over to other police personnel who took me to Cargo, Srinagar. There, SP [name not known] and DSP Wasim Qadri asked me if I am a militant or any connection with militancy. After the interrogation they kept me in a dark cell. There I was not allowed to wash my face. I would have to eat and urinate in the cell only. I was kept for twelve days and during these days I was just once taken out of the cell to meet my family for just five minutes. After these 12 days I was taken out of the cell and was asked about any of my family member's phone number. I told them my neighbor's number. They called him and told him that to take me home. After some time my family came there to take me home.

After 15 days SOG personnel of Pattan raided my house and told me to appear in the SOG camp. On the next day I went to the camp and there, DSP asked me that I am affiliated with militancy and ordered his men to take off my clothes and tie me. Then wires were connected to my toes and I was made to lie on the ground. They gave me electric shocks, they applied roller on my legs as well. They tortured me for around one hour. On the same day at about 3 pm I was released.

After 5-6 months, SOG personnel of Pattan sent civil persons to summon me to the camp but I did not go. They sent calls for me few times but when I did not go then it stopped.

In 2010, I was going to Kreeri for Taziyat [condolence] to one of our relative's house. When I reached near police station Kreeri, police stopped the vehicle in which I was travelling. SSP Mansoor arrested me and handed me over to SHO Majeed. On the same day they took me to JIC Baramulla. On the next day at around 2 pm they took me to Sub Jail Baramulla. After keeping me in Sub Jail for 40 days, I was booked under PSA and was shifted to Central Jail Srinagar. After three months my family had approached the court and managed to quash the charge against me. Then I was shifted to CIK Humhama, Srinagar on 18 December 2010. There I was kept in a cell and on 2 January 2011, I was handed over to police station Kreeri. There, some officer [two star] called SHO Majeed and told him that that CIK has handed me over to police station with the release order. I was there when this conversation happened. The SHO asked him to file a new FIR against me. A new FIR was lodged against me and I was again detained for 23 days at the police station Kreeri. After some time the villagers of my village approached the SHO and DSP and requested them to release me. They told SHO that my father is having cancer and has to undergo an operation. The SHO suggested the villagers to get the bail. After some time my family got the bail and placed it on the table of SHO. The SHO released me and when I came out of the police station there was the vehicle of police station Pattan. They picked me and took me to police station Pattan. There I was put in a cell again.

They kept me there for 27 days and a new FIR was lodged against me. My family again approached DSP Sajad of Pattan police station. He also suggested my family to get the bail. When my family got the bail, a new FIR was again lodged against me. Manzoor Malik was the then SHO of the Pattan police station. This time police was intending to send me to central jail Jammu. Then my family approached the Deputy Commissioner, and my family explained everything. The Deputy Commissioner ordered the police not to send me to Jammu. Then I was taken to Baramulla Sub-Jail and was kept there for nine months. After that I was shifted to CIK, Humhama. Khurshid Khan was the then DSP at CIK. After that he was kept for few days in CIK and then was handed over to the family.

In May 2015, I was called to Wusan Camp. There Major Ashok Diwali asked me "Why do you people want freedom from India". I replied that we are Muslims and we cannot be with a Hindu state. Then the Major abused me verbally and allowed me to go back home after two hours.

From 1998 to 2001, I was not able to do any work because of the frequent harassments and detentions due to which my family suffered economically.

61. Ghulam Ahmad Ganai, resident of Tantraypora, Palhallan

Before 1993, there were frequent crackdowns imposed in Palhallan. Nisar Ahmad Tantray [my grandson] was tall so he was always suspected and harassed by the army. In 1993, he decided to join HM and went across to Pakistan. We were receiving letters from him from across but we did not know when he returned. We only came to know about his being in Kashmir when he was killed in an encounter at Nilla Pattan at around 4:45pm.

Since he went across, army of Yatipora camp and Palhallan camp started raiding our house. Army would always search the house and beat us and ask us about Nisar during the crackdown. After 1994, army of Palhallan, headed by Major Dhandan was raiding our house. Once during the crackdown Major Dhandan asked us to produce Nisar and said to us "I am known as Major Dhandan and if you will not produce Nisar I will kill you".

After that Major Sinha and government gunmen were working together. Once Major Sinha sent a government gunmen namely Ghulam Nabi Dar resident of Palhallan, alias Babar, to our house. He came to our house and said that Nisar has sent a letter to you and Major Sinha wants that letter. We told him that we had burnt that letter after reading it. He threatened us by showing a grenade in his hand and said if we will not give the letter he will explode the grenade in the house. This made me angry and I replied that I would put this "grenade in your ass". I also told him if Major Sinha wants that letter tell him to come himself. Then he left the house and Major Sinha also did not come.

During the time of Major Sinha, government gunmen namely Ghulam Nabi Tantray, Mohammad Ismail Tantray, Abdul Rashid Ganai, Ghulam Nabi Dar [Babar] and Bashir Ahmad Rather, all residents of Palhallan, tried to cut our trees, which were around 190. Then I plead to Ghulam Nabi Kawa not to cut those threes. Then he ordered his men not to cut the trees.

In 1996, Abdul Rashid Tantray took my wristwatch, and after two days I requested him to give my watch back. Abdul Rashid told me either produce Nisar or be ready for death.

Government gunmen also accused us of storing weapons of Nisar. They demanded money from us. We gave Rs. 10,000 rupees for them not to harass us.

During the time of DSP Kuldeep, my daughter Aisha Begum [mother of Nisar] and I were ordered to appear in SOG camp. We were appearing there for around nine months off and on. The DSP also raided the house many times. All this continued till Nisar was killed. After his killing, the army and SOG never raided our house again.

62. Mohammad Shahbaz Khan, son of Ghulam Mohammad Khan, resident of Palhallan

In 1992, the army personnel conducted a crackdown. All men were told to leave their houses but Ghulam Hassan Khan, my brother, did not leave the house. During the search operation army found Ghulam Hassan Khan sitting in home and took him along with them to Hyderbaig camp. He was tortured for at least 4 to 5 hours continuously. Since then he has been continuously taken under custody by the army officials and been tortured. The victim was mentally and physically disturbed and fled to Pakistan in 1994 but returned in 2001. While he was away, our family was tortured. The army personnel not only destroyed our home and food grain but also kicked our mother on chest due to which she fainted. In addition the officials every evening used to take me and my other brother Zahoor Ahmed as human shield.

Once an officer also told us that they had to keep us under custody for our own safety. We were told to carry their food and blanket and were taken to Wusan camp every evening.

One day a government gunman visited our house and opened gunfire in which our uncle got shot in throat. He was soon rushed to hospital but he died after a year.

The army used to beat both us brothers in front of our family. In the camp we were made to kneel down and they hit us with wooden rods. Captain Raman Lamba and Major Kaloo were in the Wusan camp.

In 1996, when us brothers were returning after

offering our evening prayers, we were halted and taken to Hyderbaig camp where we were hung upside down for entire night. 3 to 4 army officials tortured us. I was released in two days, but brother Zahoor Ahmad was kept under custody for 15 days.

One evening, BSF in civil dress came to the market in search of Ghulam Mohammad but instead they took few civilians under custody including both us brothers and pushed us into a vacant shop where we were all beaten up. They hit Zahoor Ahmed with a hookah pot due to which his head started bleeding.

DSP Kuldeep of SOG used to summon both us brothers to the camp frequently. We were tortured every time. Once he threatened us and asked us to tell our brother to surrender.

In October 2002, Ghulam Hassan Khan was arrested in Pattan Park. On the way he tried to run away but he was caught again and was taken to SOG Cargo camp, Srinagar where he was tortured. When we visited him he could barely move or talk. After tolerating months of torture he managed to run away. But after 5 months he was killed in an encounter in Palhallan. Army personnel, 2 civilians named Ajaz Ahmed Dar and Shabir Ahmed Shah also died during this encounter.

63. Shakeel-ur-Rehman, aged: 47, son of Abdul Rehman, resident of Pattan, Baramulla, occupation: Government Employee.

First I was picked in 1991 during a crackdown along with two other persons ---by the men of army's Rajputana Rifles from Hamray Camp. I was first taken to Hamray camp where during questioning one Commanding Officer namely Baghwan Singh asked me to work as an informer for them, because I was associated with religious group Jamaat-e-Islami. I refused to do so and then after three days detention at the Hamray camp I was shifted to Badami BaghArmy Headquarters. At Badami Bagh, I was tortured severely as all my clothes were removed, with my hands tied on my back and then I was beaten on the back of both thighs with bamboo sticks. I along with other detainees was being served contaminated and filthy food, which caused health complications including intestinal infection to me. The torture was inflicted consecutively for three day. Eventually after 19 days we were released from Badami Bagh Interrogation Centre, in view of a massive protest in Pattan area.

Second time, in the month of 1994, again the personnel of army's Garhwal Regiment camped at Hyderbaig picked me during a crackdown in Pattan area. The crackdown was being headed by one Major namely Aziz Garhwal which was possibly the nickname of the said officer. During the crackdown the army had established a temporary interrogation Centre at Government School Pattan. I was taken to that interrogation Centre and was tortured badly. My head was dipped into the bucket of filthy water and made suffocated. Then I was electrocuted by tying an electrode to my private part. During tortured the army personnel were telling me that I am associated with HM and were forcing me to share information, but I continued pleading for my innocence. Then same day in the evening after a group women protested against my arrest, I was set free.

Then, in July or August 1995, I was picked up again during a crackdown in Pattan area by the personnel of 10 Bihar Army camped at Hyderbaig, Pattan. The crackdown had been launched by Major Gupta and Colonel A.K. Gaur. This time I was picked up because of recovery of some newspapers and salary passbook from my house during door to door search. The newspapers contained the tributary pictures of militants killed in battles with armed forces. The army arrested me on the accusation of being a militant sympathizer. This time after the recovery of said documents, I was called from the parade ground by Commanding AK Gaur and then taken to my house, where they started to torture me. They took me into one of the rooms of my uncle's house which was close by. The army personnel dipped my head to suffocate me into a bucket of water and they rolled my thighs with a heavy wooden roller, with around 3 army men on each side of the roller. During the torture all my households items were ransacked by army. This time I was tortured for half an hour and was released after nothing erroneous was found against me.

Then between 1996 and 1997, I was constantly harassed by government sponsored gunmen, among the renegades who harassed me and extorted money from me were Shaheen, Nazir Halwa, Ama Kawa, Adil Khan, Mushtaq Zargar, Riyaz Sada, Mohiuddin Ganaie. The said persons were associated with Muslim Mujahideen and were operating from Palhalan army camp (situated in the houses of migrant Kashmiri Pandits) under the control of Major Liyakat Ali.The said renegades were also associated with three persons namely Haji Abdul Khaliq Bhat of Malpora Pattan, Abdul Majeed Bhat alias Kar of Pattan and Ghulam Mohammad Dhobi, who were brokers and were making people of Pattan area to migrate from Pattan and were making them to sell their properties. Under the control above name persons, there was also one person namely Abdul Rashid Gojri (alias Resh Goor) who was called village guard and was working with army. Abdul Rashid on the direction of above named Muslim Mujahideen renegades between 1996-1998 used to extort money from me on monthly bases, by threatening of dire consequences and intimidating me that he would get me arrested by the army and renegades of Muslim Mujahideen of Palhalan Camp. The said renegades were extorting money from many residents of Pattan area and were also threatening them of dire consequences. Even the then Dy. SP namely Farooq Reshi and another police personnel Mansoor were also actively involved extortion and blackmailing locals.

Then in 1997 in the month September or October, during one night at 12:00am my house was raided by

SDPO namely Farooq Ahmad Reshi along with his men including his driver namely Mansoor. Then I was picked up.My family members pleaded for my release but police turned a deaf ear to their pleas and pushed away all the women in the family. Then the said police handed me over to Special Task Force [STF] group camped at Palhalan. There I along with around 20 other locals, who had also been picked from different villages of Pattan area were kept in a room of the STF camp.Then same night at about 2:00am I was taken out from the room and then taken to a nearby interrogation center. There DySP. Kuldip himself started to beat me up with bamboo stick. He repeatedly kept on hitting my arms and legs. For about two hours I was beaten by DySP. Kuldip, during which he was asking me that one Master Ghulam Nabi Wani, who was a leading, Jamaat-e-Islami Activist, has handed over records and documents of Jamaat-e-Islami group to me. I negated the allegations against me and implored for my innocence. After two hours of severe beating I got semi-conscious. In the same interrogation room there was a government gunman namely Gula Lone who on getting pity on my condition requested DySP Kuldip that he would serve me water, but the DySP refused and used abusive words to the gunman. Then I was taken back to the room where other local were detained. Then after eight days of detention my family was allowed to meet me and then on the 10th day, I was shifted to Joint Interrogation Center Matches Factory Baramulla. There I was kept for 4 days and then approximately on the 15th day I was produced before the SP Operations R.K. Jalla, who in his office chamber punched on face and kicked me and asked that my family is using police influence for my release. After half an hour beating and humiliation from SP Jalla, I was sent to Police Station Baramulla, where from I was released in the late evening time. On my release I was not able to go back my home and instead stayed in a mosque in Baramulla for the night. Next day I then went to my home.

After my release, I after enquiring about the reason behind my arrest came know that my arrest by the Dy. SP Farooq Rishi and torture by Dy.SP Kuldip was motivated by the persons namely Haji Abdul Khaliq Bhat of Malpora Pattan, Abdul Majeed Bhat alias Kar of Pattan and Ghulam Mohammad Dhobi, the brokers of the area, who were pushing people for migration from Pattan area and were earning from their properties. Further, after my release the trio brokers visited my house and warned me to migrate from the area to avoid future harassment, which I refused by saying that there is nothing erroneous against me for which I should escape. Further, my family informed me that it was one Inspector General of Police who influenced my release after my mother and uncle requested him. The said police officer was also hailing from Pattan area.

Due to infliction of repeated torture for years and years together I have become a patient of multiple Psychological disorders including Post Traumatic Stress Disorder and have remained on continuous diagnosis of doctors. The torture has also caused other health problem to me and there is no end to my sufferings.

64. Abdul Rashid, son of Ali Mohammad Sheikh, resident of Tantraypora, Palhallan

The younger brother of the family Mohammad Maqbool Sheikh fled Pakistan due to the atrocities committed by the army officials. He got settled there and returned in 2000 only once when he had some bladder problem and need to undergo an operation.

Since then the family was been raided and tortured constantly. The male members [Hassan Sheikh, Ghulam Mohammad and myself] have been taken to Hyderbaig camp, Wusan camp and kept under custody for at least 15 days or more and been tortured. There was Major Sharma who interrogated us.

The BSF, SOG and government gunmen used to destroy our property despite us paying them money every now and then and they did not spare the family. DSP Surjeet and the gunmen Shaban Kawa, Amma Waza and Rashid Ganai always demanded money from the family.

The women of the family always slept in neighboring house to avoid torture but still even they have been beaten up. Once during the raid Haja Begum [sister in law] was slapped and her mother in law [Fata Begum] was hit in the nose. In addition the male children [Mohammad Yakub Ahmed Sheikh and Mohammad Dawood Ahmed Sheikh] also had been taken to the camp and tortured frequently, which resulted in mental and physical damage. During these days, I was in detention under SOG. Officer Gupta was then in SOG.

- *The torture was as follows:*
- *Heat coins or iron and place it on our backs*
- *Hang us upside down*
- *Beat us with wooden rods*
- *The army personnel also used to damage our private property.*
- *Passport issues*

I have been tortured at Hyderbaig camp as well with electric shocks etc.

During 26 January, 15 August and election times, almost all the male member of the family were taken and kept under custody by SOG and government gunmen. Usually we were taken to Palhallan camp and later on SOG camp.

Moreover, I was taken many times by Palhallan camp then headed by Major Liyaqat. Once I was kept there for 2 days and was tortured as well. I was beaten with sticks and roller was rolled on my legs. I was given electric currents and was made to over drink water. This torture was done to me for around one hour on the

first day in the camp.

In addition the army officials took a survey in which each and every detail about the family members was maintained. Survey number could be seen on every house of Palhallan.

It was after 2012 that the situation was quite under control.